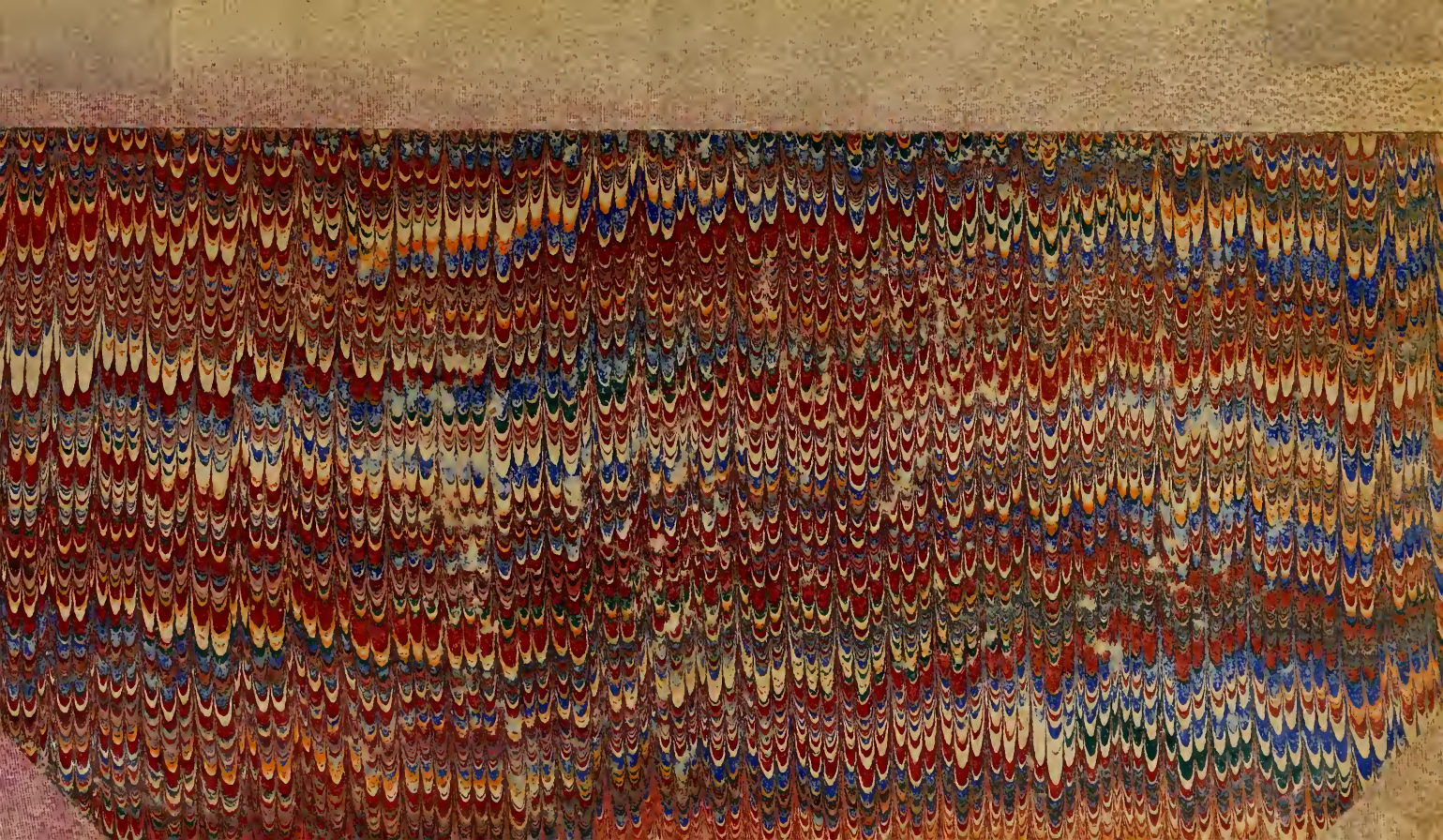

T. Bigelow Lawrence.

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MEMOIRS

OF THE

MARQUIS OF MONTROSE.

"Le Comte de Montross, Ecossois, et chef de la maison de Graham, le seul homme du monde qui m'ait jamais rapellé l'idée de certains heros que l'on ne voit plus que dans les Vces de Plutarque, avoit soûtenir le parti du Roi d'Angleterre dans son païs, avec une grandeur d'ame qui n'en avoit point de pareille en ce siècle."—

Mémoires du Cardinal de Retz.

Printed by George Ramsay & Co.

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JAMES GRAHAM,

MARQUIS OF MONTROSE.

FROM A RARE PRINT PUBLISHED IN THE YEAR 1648, IN THE POSSESSION OF

ROBERT GRAHAM ESQ.R ADVOCATE.

MEMOIRS

OF

THE MOST RENOWNED

JAMES GRAHAM,

MARQUIS OF MONTROSE.

TRANSLATED FROM THE LATIN OF

THE REV. DR GEORGE WISHART,

AFTERWARDS BISHOP OF EDINBURGH.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

SUNDRY ORIGINAL LETTERS, NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED.

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1819.

PREFACE.

As the last series of the Tales of My Landlord will probably call the attention of the public towards the biography of the Marquis of Montrose, it has been deemed expedient to republish this translation of Bishop Wishart's Memoirs, adding a few Notes to those already subjoined, and increasing the original Appendix with various interesting documents, some of which are now for the first time printed.

For these the Editors are indebted to the liberality of the Honourable Mrs Stewart Mackenzie, eldest daughter and heiress of the late Lord Seaforth, by whose permission such letters in the archives of her

noble family as were esteemed illustrative of this volume are laid before the public. Those written by the Marquis of Montrose are in a large hand, and bear seals with various devices. On one is a horse, on another a lion, and on a third are two rocks, with a chasm between, and a lion mounted on one pinnacle, with this motto,—" Nil Medium."

Various other additions have been made to the Appendix from printed sources; and to the kindness of Robert Graham, Esq., Advocate, the Editors are indebted for the loan of a beautiful portrait of Montrose, engraved by Matham, and prefixed to the edition of Wishart's Memoirs, printed in the year 1648. An accurate copy forms a Frontispiece to this volume.

It only remains to subjoin the short sketch of Wishart's life, as given by Bishop Keith.

" George Wiseheart, of the family of Logy in Angus, was minister at North Leith, and deposed anno 1638, for refusing to take the Covenant. Some correspondence having been afterwards discovered betwixt him and the royalists, he was plundered of

all his goods oftener than once, and thrown prisoner into the nastiest part of the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, called the Thieves' Hole; being delivered thence, he went beyond sea, and accompanied the Marquis of Montrose in foreign parts in quality of his chaplain. Then, after the fall of that illustrious person, he became chaplain to Elizabeth Queen of Bohemia, sister to King Charles I., with whom he came over into England anno 1660, to visit her royal nephew King Charles II., after his Majesty's happy Restoration. Soon after which Mr Wiseheart had the rectory of Newcastle-upon-Tyne conferred upon him, where he was held in great veneration for his unspotted loyalty. Upon the restoring of Episcopacy within Scotland, he was preferred to the See of Edinburgh, into which he was consecrated 1st June 1662, at St Andrews, where he continued till death took him away, anno 1671, and was buried in the Abbey church of Holyroodhouse, under a magnificent tomb, with an inscription upon it."—*Catalogue of Scottish Bishops. Edinburgh*, 1755.

Edinburgh, July 1819.

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THE

PUBLISHERS' PREFACE

TO THIS TRANSLATION.*

THE first part of the following Memoirs, or, as the reverend author modestly entitles them, "The Commentary of the Marquis of Montrose's Wars in Scotland," came first abroad, while his actions were yet but recently performed, and his unexpected defeat at Philiphaugh had not recovered the world from the amaze and consternation which the number and rapidity of his victories had occasioned. At this period, when loyalty and learning seemed to have taken their flight together from Britain, nothing could more seasonably have occurred, to convince the world, that all her sons were not equally involved in the same clouds of rebellion and barbarism.

* "Edinburgh: Printed by W. Ruddiman jun. and Company, for A. Kincaid and A. Donaldson, W. Gordon, and C. Wright, Booksellers in Edinburgh; and for And. Stalker, Bookseller in Glasgow. 1756."

As no person had persisted with greater obstinacy in opposition to the black designs of the covenanters than this illustrious hero, or had, with greater resolution and intrepidity, endeavoured to support the royal authority against their audacious efforts to destroy it; so it was naturally to be expected, that none would be more the object of their resentment, and the butt of their vindictive rage. Accordingly, degradation of honour, sequestration and exile, were the rewards of his steady adherence to the service of his royal master. But they did not rest here; they attacked him in a more tender part, and traduced him as devoid of faith, virtue, and religion: his noblest actions were represented as the highest crimes, and his fairest victories branded with the name of inhuman butcheries. In short, he was painted out as a monster of vice, cruelty, and barbarity; and the powers of heaven, as well as earth, were invoked, by their dire and ever ready spiritual weapons of excommunication, to avenge upon him the immagined wrongs done to these holy champions of the Lord. To vindicate the character of the Marquis from this unmerited load of detraction, and to rectify the misconceived notions which might from thence be entertained of him, now at a time when he was obliged, by the express command of his sovereign, to lay down the rank of a general, and take sanctuary among strangers and foreigners, an outcast and exile from his native

country, was a duty which Dr Wishart thought incumbent upon him. The intimate connection and familiarity with which the Marquis had honoured him, gave him opportunities of being well informed of the most secret transactions; and that, joined with the high esteem which his eminent virtues justly challenged, prompted him to undertake it.

The merit of this performance, if estimated from its success in the world, may be concluded tobe very great; for to it may, in a great measure, be ascribed that regard and notice which was had of Montrose, not only in France, where the proscribed queen then held her thin-attended court, and where it was first published, but likewise in Germany, and most of the northern courts of Europe, which he soon after visited. That peculiar elegance of expression, and animated description with which it abounds, soon attracted the regard of the world, and in a few years carried it through several impressions both in France and Holland. When they found the truth fairly exposed, and mankind open to its conviction, whereby their own slanderous purposes were disappointed, the covenanters were highly incensed, and their resentment roused afresh against the author, who before had often and long experienced its full weight, from their lawless and tyrannical exercise of ill-acquired power. He was then at the Hague with his patron Montrose, where a great number of both

Scots and English nobility and gentry were attending the prince. Among these, the emissaries of the Scots covenanters were subtilly endeavouring to insinuate themselves into his favour, with a view, that, as their party had principally contributed to destroy his royal father, they might now thwart the designs and confound the counsels of the son. To attain this end, it was necessary to have those trusty counsellors and faithful servants, who had followed the fortunes of the late king, removed from about him, and all possible address was used to create in him a disgust of them. Among those, none was a greater eye-sore than Montrose, and his chaplain had his share of their displeasure; of which the noble historian of this turbulent period gives the following remarkable instance: "A learned and worthy Scotch divine, Dr Wishart, being appointed to preach before the king, they formally besought the king, 'that he would not suffer him to preach before him, nor to come into his presence, because he stood excommunicated by the kirk of Scotland, for having refused to take the covenant,' though it was known that the true cause of the displeasure they had against that divine was, that they knew he was author of that excellent relation of the Lord Montrose's actions in Scotland,—which made those of his Majesty's council full of indignation at their insolence; and his Majesty himself declared his being offended, by using the Marquis of Montrose

with the more countenance, and hearing the Doctor preach with the more attention." *

There is another instance of their hatred and indignation at this book, no less ridiculous in its nature, and more apt to excite laughter, were it not for the shocking occasion on which it was employed; after they had got Montrose into their power, and, in order to take a full revenge for all the fears and apprehensions which his repeated successes had occasioned, had determined to aggravate the horror of his execution, with every circumstance which ingenuity could invent, or brutal cruelty inflict, as an additional indignity, they decreed that this book, together with his declaration, should be hung about his neck, thereby vainly imagining to put a period to the fame of his splendid actions, and the disgrace of their own cowardice and villany, as well as to his life. Their impotent attempts to shake his constancy, Montrose beheld with indignation, and with a greatness of soul answerable to his former conduct, told them, "That he reckoned the cord with the books, now hung about his neck, a greater honour, and he embraced them with greater joy, than the golden chain and the garter, when first he was installed a knight of that noble order." Such was the estimation held by Montrose of this performance! which he thought effectual to blunt

* Clarendon's Hist. Vol. III. Book xi.

the edge of envious censure and malicious detraction, and to transmit the glory of his noble achievements to latest posterity.*

That it came afterwards to be little known, at least to be less noticed, may, in a great measure, be attributed to the following cause. When Montrose first undertook the arduous enterprise of reducing the enormous anti-constitutional power of the covenanters, and restoring the king's authority to its ancient legal standard, he found they had engrossed the whole strength of the nation in their hands. He entered upon the scene of action without men, money, arms, ammunition, or any military preparation; and during the whole time he continued in the field, his condition in these respects was little mended: his whole resources lay in himself; being but faintly seconded, or not at all, by those, from whom duty to their sovereign,

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* "Every attempt, which the insolence of the governing party had made to subdue his gallant spirit, had hitherto proved fruitless; they made yet one effort more, in this last and melancholy scene, when all enmity arising from motive merely human is commonly softened and disarmed: the executioner brought that book, which had been published in elegant Latin, of his truly heroic actions, and tied it by a cord about his neck. Montrose smiled at this new instance of their malice; he thanked them, however, for their officious zeal, and said, that he bore this testimony of his bravery and loyalty with more pride than he had ever worn the garter."—*Hume's Hist. of England.*

gratitude to the most indulgent and beneficent master, or the strongest assurances to himself, gave him ground to expect a prompt and effectual assistance. To do justice to his character, and to convey a proper idea of his conduct and constancy, it was necessary for his historian to relate the difficulties he had to encounter, whether from the open and atrocious deeds of his declared enemies, or from the cowardice, envy, or perfidy of his professed friends. That this display of the truth should prove offensive to many, and create a strong prejudice against the book and its author, productive of the highest instances of malevolence, is not surprising. Besides, many whose conduct during these confusions had been the most exceptionable, having soon after, from a sense of the miseries brought upon their native country by their wickedness or folly, been highly instrumental in bringing about the restoration of their exiled monarch, and proving afterwards loyal and peaceable subjects, and faithful servants to their king, it was no other than good policy to draw a veil over their former errors, and to remove every thing which might create an umbrage, or raise a suspicion of any diffidence of their loyalty. Accordingly, though Dr Wishart's performance went through several editions in foreign countries, in the years 1647, 1648, and 1649, yet no attempt was ever made to reprint it in Scotland.

In England a translation of it was undertaken,

and first published in the year 1647; but in a style neither answerable to the dignity of the subject, nor the elegance of the original. The language is rough and uncouth, like the times, and appears rather to be the work of a schoolboy, than of one fit for such a task. The translator is frequently mistaken in the sense of the author, and almost never right in the rendering of proper names. With all these disadvantages, however, it underwent several impressions; and, after Montrose's death, was enlarged with the history of his transactions abroad, his fatal descent upon Scotland, and his execution,* under the new title of "MONTROSE REDIVIVUS, or, the Portraiture of James Marquis of Montrose, Earl of Kincardine, &c. in his actions for Charles I. and in his passions for Charles II. King of Scots." †

We have not been able to discover any impression of it from the Restoration till the year 1720, when a new edition was again published, with a translation of the second part, which had continued

* The account of Montrose's execution, published in this English edition, is a very lame and imperfect translation of the seventh chapter of the second part of these Memoirs, which was published at the time under the title of "A true and perfect relation of all the passages concerning the examination, trial, and death, of the most honourable James Marquis of Montrose," &c.

† Printed at London, for John Ridley, at the Castle in Fleet Street, near Ram Alley, 1652.

till then in MSS., the good bishop probably, for the causes above mentioned, never having thought proper to produce it to the world. The first part is literally the same with the former English editions, excepting as to the proper names, most of which are corrected. It must be allowed, that the editor has done more justice to the second part, the translation of which is tolerable, but not such as to supersede the necessity of a new attempt. His inadvertency, however, is inexcusable, having often omitted sentences, and sometimes whole paragraphs of the original MSS., though they contained very important anecdotes; such as that paragraph which begins p. 229, and represents the king's condition, while in the custody of the English army; the half of that paragraph p. 257, containing an account of the high honours paid by the Marquis of Argyle to Cromwel, when he came to Scotland, and of the private treaty concerted betwixt them for the king's destruction; and, to mention no more, that on page 287, which displays the artifices employed by the covenanters to obstruct Montrose's measures, and render ineffectual his applications to foreign princes for their countenance and assistance to the exiled prince.

As to the merits of the present translation, the publishers have not the arrogance to decide concerning it. The beauty and elegance of such an original is not easily, if at all, to be transfused into a translation; yet here, they are sensible more of

it might have been preserved by a more skilful hand. One thing at least they hope they have attained, that it may be read without that satiety and disgust which could not but attend the perusal of the former translation, as it necessarily must do that of every literal translation from the Latin.

They cannot omit noticing the obligations which Mr Adams, the last editor,* has conferred upon the world, by publishing those valuable papers contained in his appendix. Some of them which seemed less material we have omitted, in order to make room for others which we have adopted as more important, and contributing more to throw light upon the history, and upon the genius of the times; and they are now digested in the order of time wherein the occurrences happened which occasioned them.

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* History of the Wars in Scotland, under the Marquis of Montrose. 12mo. Edin. 1720.

THE

AUTHOR'S PREFACE,

PUBLISHED BY HIM ALONG WITH THE FIRST PART OF THE FOLLOWING MEMOIRS.

THERE are a few things, of which it is proper to inform the reader of the following Memoirs, whereof some relate to the Marquis of Montrose, whose actions in his own country, for the space of two years, are the subject of them; and others respect the author himself.

As to the Marquis, he is chief of that most ancient and eminent family of the Grahams in Scotland, in the old dialect of that country called by the name of GRAHAM-MORE, or the GREAT GRAHAM. He is descended of that Graham so famous in the histories of this kingdom, who was father-in-law to Fergus II. King of Scots, and was the first who, in the reign of the same Fergus, attacked and demolished the wall built by Severus from the Frith of Forth to the mouth of the river Clyde, which is the narrowest part of Britain, and was the utmost limits of the Roman empire, which he thereby confined within narrower bounds; and hence the remaining vestiges of this wall retain his

name to this day, and are called by the inhabitants GRAHAM'S DIKE. This same Graham, who was the founder of this noble family, having survived his son-in-law Fergus, was, on account of his great abilities, both in a civil and a military capacity, appointed regent of the kingdom, and governor to his grandson during his minority; and, after he had restored the teachers of the Christian religion, who had been banished by the late wars, and established both the church and state by excellent laws, he spontaneously resigned the government into the hands of his grandson when he came of age. He was contemporary with the Emperors Arcadius and Honorius, about the year of our Lord 400, and from him, through a long and honourable descent, sprung this noble family, who, by imitating the virtues of their founder, have eminently distinguished themselves through succeeding ages. * Among them deserves particular notice that valiant Graham, who, together with Dunbar, brought such a seasonable relief to his country, when in danger of being overrun by the Danes, who were already masters of England, and had often, to their cost, also attempted the con-

* The first of this distinguished family on authentic record is William de Graham, who settled in Scotland during the reign of King David the First, and became possessor of the lands of Abercorn and Dalkeith; he witnessed the charter of David to the monks of Holyroodhouse, 1128.

quest of Scotland, with very powerful armies. And in later times, that noble John Graham came nothing short of his ancestors in honour and bravery, who, after the death of Alexander III. in the interregnum while Bruce and Baliol contended for the crown, with the assistance of that renowned patriot and viceroy William Wallace, bravely asserted his country's liberty against the unjust usurpation and wicked tyranny of Edward III. of England, and after many heroic actions, died in the field of battle, fighting gallantly in its defence. His tomb is yet to be seen in a little chapel, which takes the name of Falkirk, or Valkirk, *(Fanum Valli,)* from the before mentioned Graham's Dike, near which it stands, and adjacent to it the Marquis of Montrose still enjoys very large and plentiful possessions, descended to him from his ancestor the first Graham.

But, that I may not seem altogether to derive the nobility of the extraction of our illustrious hero from the obscure and uncertain traces of remote antiquity, I must not omit his grandfather, the Earl of Montrose, who, almost in our own memory, was advanced to places of the highest honour and trust, and discharged them with the greatest applause. He was Chancellor of Scotland at the time King James VI. succeeded to the crown of England, and was afterwards created his viceroy, or Lord High Commissioner, which

high dignity he bore till his death, with the love and affection both of king and people.

His father, the late Earl, was a nobleman remarkable for his singular endowments both of body and mind, and was no less famous abroad than at home. After having performed many honourable embassies for his master King James, he was appointed President of the Council by King Charles, but was at length snatched off by an untimely fate from the service of his country, to the great regret of all good men.

As to the present Marquis, the descendant of these two great men, his actions, during less than two years, in which he has been employed in the service of his sovereign, when he has yet hardly attained the thirty-sixth year of his age, give sufficient ground to judge what may be expected of him.

One thing I beg leave to add, worthy the reader's observation, which is, that there have been three remarkable periods, which have almost proved ruinous to the kingdom of Scotland; the first was from the oppression of the Romans, whose yoke our ancestors shook off under the conduct of the first Graham, who was descended of the noble British family of the Fulgentii. The second was from the Danes, who were prevented from extending their conquests over this part of the island by the valour and prowess of the second Graham; and the third from the English and Normans,

who, after they had received several signal overthrows, were by the third Graham twice expelled Scotland, so that what was anciently said of the Scipios in Afric, seems to be verified of this family, that the name of GRAHAM is destined to relieve their country when in the greatest jeopardy and danger; and it may be concluded to have been not without the special direction of Providence, that the present Marquis appeared in these worst of times, in order to re-establish the just rights and prerogatives of his sovereign, preserve the peace and liberty of his fellow subjects, and maintain the ancient splendour and dignity of his house. This much I thought necessary to premise concerning the Marquis of Montrose.

As to the author of these Memoirs, he professes not to have been extremely conversant in such kind of studies, and expects no honour or reputation on account of the brightness of his parts, which he owns are very mean; nor profit and advantage from his performance, which are the chief motives for most writers to appear in public. His principal inducement to engage in this work was solely a desire to propagate the truth among other nations, and to hand it down to posterity; having learned, by a late and lamentable experience, in a similar case, that prosperous villany always finds great numbers to countenance and support her, while virtue in distress has but very few friends or advocates. For when the confederates in both

kingdoms had, by the same impious artifices of lies and calumnies, overturned the church, in order to satiate their sacrilegious avarice with its spoils, and thereby entailed a curse upon their posterity, yet were there not wanting many, who bestowed on them the highest praises on that account, as men deserving highly of their country, of the church itself, and even of mankind in general; while, at the same time, they persecuted, with the utmost virulence, the righteous servants of God, the confessors and martyrs of his holy faith, and loaded them with calumny and reproach, because they opposed their impious designs: there was no room to doubt, but the same persons who were practising the same artifices to render the royal authority odious to the people, that in the end they might subvert it, and enjoy the reward of their treason and perfidy in the possession of the royal honours and prerogatives, would easily find great numbers, who, animated by the like propensity to malice and detraction, would endeavour to asperse the character of this excellent nobleman, and represent even his most heroic actions in the most odious colours; and, after having dressed up the genuine truth and history of his transactions in their own false and perverted narration, like the wasps, which convert into their native poison, by their envenomed touch, the most fragrant and salubrious juices which they collect from the odoriferous flowers, would, to promote their impious designs, dispense them under

the character of truth, to the unwary or ignorant people. To obviate this evil was the principal design of the author, in offering this short and unaffected account of them, as a proper and timely antidote, for the benefit of the sincere lovers of truth, in the defence of which he has hitherto obstinately persisted, and appeared an intrepid advocate, notwithstanding the load of hatred, malice, and persecution, which he knew was on that account prepared for him by wicked men ; yet he disdained to flatter them, or in the least to palliate the truth, by ambiguity of phrase or darkness of expression ; for, having been born and bred up in the principles of liberty, he resolved to part with his life and it at the same time. Although he does not arrogate to himself the applause of being an eminent historian, either on account of the beauty of his composition, or the elegance of his style, yet he thinks himself justly entitled to claim that of a strict observer of truth : for the defence and propagation of which he has despised what are reckoned the most dear and valuable things in this world, having on that account been thrice plundered of all his goods,—thrice undergone a severe and nauseous imprisonment,—and is now, for the third time, living in exile from his native country. A consciousness, however, of his own innocence and integrity, and the satisfaction he feels in being thought worthy of God to suffer so much in the cause of truth and justice, supports him with joy

and tranquillity under this load of oppression. Therefore, candid reader, be pleased to pay him at least the regard due to his veracity, and take his honest endeavours in good part. Farewell.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

MARQUIS OF MONTROSE.

PART I.

Montrose, his country's glory and its shame,
Who equall'd Cæsar in all things but fame.
His heart, though not his country, was as great;
Like him he fell, but by a nobler fate.
Montrose did fall his country to redress;
But Cæsar, when he did just Rome oppress.
Duty on valour stamps a true renown;
'Tis greater to support than wear a crown.

Sir G. Mackenzie.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

MARQUIS OF MONTROSE.

CHAP. I.

The pretences of the covenanters; their designs discovered by Montrose; they invade England, and seize Newcastle.—Montrose's correspondence with the king disclosed; he forms an association for the king.—The king's letters to Montrose intercepted, whereupon he is imprisoned.—A parliament held at Edinburgh in 1641, *after which he is released.*

JAMES MARQUIS of MONTROSE had hitherto sided with the covenanters in Scotland, and used his endeavours rather too vigorously, and too successfully, in their behalf. * Their specious pretexts were

* Montrose was induced to join the covenanters by Lord Rothes, one of the most distinguished leaders of the faction. Principal Baillie says, "When the canniness of Rothes had brought in Montrose to our party, his more than ordinary and evil pride made him very hard to be guided. His first voyage

no less than the preservation of religion, the honour and dignity of the crown, the laws of the land, and the freedom of this ancient kingdom ;— which had been valiantly and happily defended against its most powerful enemies, the Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans, by the bravery of our ancestors, at the expence of their blood and lives. And whatever tales they framed to answer their sinister purposes, they wanted not proper instruments always at hand to spread them among the people. They alleged, that the chief design of the court of England was to reduce this free nation to the condition of a province, and subject it to the yoke of its ancient enemies. In the meantime, by their manifestos and solemn appeals to heaven, they vowed and declared, that they had not the least intention, by force or arms, or otherwise than by petitioning, to prevail with the king, that he would be graciously pleased to yield to the humble supplications of his subjects, and interpose his authority to prevent the religion and liberty of his dearest native country from being brought into danger.

But at length, in the year 1639, Montrose discovered, that these fine pretexts were calculated merely to engage the affections of the ignorant

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to Aberdeen made him swallow the certain hopes of a generalissimo over all our armies. When that honour was put on Lesley, he incontinent began to deal with the king."

and superstitious rabble, and to alienate them from the king, as an enemy to religion and liberty. For the covenanters did not hesitate frankly to declare their sentiments to him, that Scotland had been too long governed by kings; that it would never be well with them while one of the name of Stuart was alive; and that, in order to extirpate that family, they ought to begin at the king: so that Montrose easily perceived, that his majesty's person and royal authority were levelled at. Wherefore, detesting such horrible wickedness, he resolved to abandon the covenanters, and, by disappointing their designs, and weakening their strength, to contribute what lay in his power to preserve the king and the royal authority safe and inviolate. But, as the covenanters, what by force what by fraud, had drawn over almost the whole nation to their side, he judged himself alone too weak to check their power; and, therefore, thought it proper not to declare his purpose too suddenly or too rashly. He had many friends among them, who were considerable both for their *following*, and for their wealth and authority; these he resolved to detach from the covenanters, and bring them over to the king's side; by this means he thought he might gather a considerable body, both for promoting his majesty's interest, and for his own preservation.

In the mean time, the covenanters had levied a great army against the king; and in a solemn convention at Dunse, at which Montrose was not pre-

sent, they resolved to invade England; a measure which the chief of the covenanters had determined upon in their private cabals six weeks before; and in that view had been at pains to publish and disperse their manifestos and declarations through the whole island, exhibiting the reasons of their expedition. *

When Montrose returned to the army, as he found he could not prevent their resolution, he chose rather openly to approve it. He himself commanded in this army 2000 foot and 500 horse, and his most intimate friends and dependents, who had solemnly engaged to him to employ their services for the king's interest, commanded 5000 more; and if the greatest part of these had not broke their engagements, he had either carried off the whole army with him to the king, or, at least, had easily disappointed the designs of the covenanters. They pitched their camp at the river Tweed, upon the borders; and the principal officers having cast

* They published what may be called their manifesto, under the title of *Six considerations of the lawfulness of their expedition*, which see in the appendix, No. 1. His majesty having issued a proclamation declaring them *rebels* and *traitors*, they published another paper in their vindication, intituled, *The intentions of the army of the kingdom of Scotland, declared to their brethren of England by the commissioners of the late parliament, and by the general, noblemen, barons, and other officers of the army;* which see in Rushworth's Collect. Vol. III, append. p. 283.

lots, it fell to Montrose's share first to cross the river, which he executed immediately on foot, at the head of his own infantry, and with great readiness,* the better to conceal his designs, and remove any suspicion of him; for his influence in the army, and his frank honest disposition, were now so much dreaded by these conscious rebels, that they kept a strict watch over all his motions. †

Then crossing the river Tyne, four miles above Newcastle, they got possession of that place by the treachery of the English generals, who retired to York with the king's army, though it was very considerable. Advances being made on both sides towards a peace, a truce was in the mean time agreed to. During this interval, Montrose had wrote some letters to the king, which contained nothing but expressions of his fidelity and duty to his majesty, and his inclination to serve him. Some of the gentlemen of the king's bed-chamber, in whom he placed the most entire confidence, and who, notwithstanding, held a secret correspondence with the covenanters, and furnished them with daily advice of the king's most secret councils, of which they themselves were often either the advisers or

* August 21, 1640.

† "The lot gave the van that day to Montrose, to whom, I think, it was very welcome. He went on foot himself first through, and returned to encourage his men; yet one of his soldiers, and he only of all the army, did drown."—*Baillie's Letters.*

promoters, having stole these letters out of the king's pocket in the night-time, transcribed them, and sent them to the covenanters at Newcastle.* The most forward of the party accused Montrose very sharply concerning them; and, though they durst not make an open quarrel, or call him publicly to account, because of his power and influence in the army; yet among the common people they loaded him with calumny and reproach. For such purposes they had many preachers through the whole kingdom at their devotion, whose venal tongues were employed to turn the people's minds which way they pleased. And in general, nothing contributed more effectually to promote and spread their rebellion, than the spiteful and virulent invectives which those worthy pulpiteers were constantly buzzing in the ears of their deluded admirers, against the king and all his faithful subjects, as the enemies of Christ; for such was the canting language of those demagogues, while they themselves were a scandal and reproach to the Christian name.

After Montrose returned to Scotland, as his whole attention was employed to avert, if possible, the storm of rebellion which he saw impending, he

* The gentleman suspected by Montrose was William Murray, nephew to Mr Robert Murray, provost, or minister of Methven, through whom he corresponded with the covenanters.—*Guthrie's Memoirs*, p. 117. But others ascribed this piece of treachery to the Marquis of Hamilton.

prevailed upon severals of the nobility and gentry of the first rank and influence, to join with him in a bond or association for the defence of his majesty, and his ancient and lawful privileges and prerogatives, against all his enemies, foreign and domestic, with their whole lives and fortunes, to the utmost of their power. And he got matters to bear so far, that there had certainly been an open division in the army, whereby he might soon have obtained his desire, had not some of the associators, through timidity and want of resolution, qualities incompatible with that secrecy and reserve necessary in affairs of the last importance, disclosed the whole matter to the covenanters.* They made a very great noise about it, but things were accommodated at that time ; for they were still so much afraid of Montrose's influence, that they durst not as yet decree any open severity against him.

But soon after, the covenanters having contrived a new oath, in order to secure the obedience of the

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* This association was framed at Cumbernauld, the Earl of Wigton's house, in July preceding; and was at first subscribed by the Earls of Montrose and Wigton, the Lords Fleming, Boyd, and Almond. And afterwards Montrose drew to it the Earls of Marischal, Mar, Athole, Kinghorn, Perth, Kelly, Home, and Seaforth; and the Lords Stormont, Erskine, Drummond, Ker, Napier, and others. It was discovered to Argyle by the Lord Almond; and upon the bond being given up to the Committee of Estates, and burnt by their order, the subscribers were dismissed.—*Guthrie's Memoirs*, p. 89.

army, and having likewise entered into a very close league with the parliament of England, though they thought themselves now sufficiently secure against the plots and intrigues of any private man, yet they were still afraid of Montrose, whose aspiring views and enterprising genius did not at all square with their dark designs; and, therefore, they thought it necessary, by any means, to remove him out of the way.

For this wicked purpose an opportunity very soon occurred. They were informed by some of the people about court, whom they had corrupted by rewards and promises, that the king had sent some letters to Montrose, and that they were sewed up in the messenger's saddle, whose name was Stewart, a servant of the Earl of Traquair. This man had no sooner set his foot on Scots ground than he was seized, and the letters found in his saddle according to their information. These letters contained nothing which was unbecoming the best of kings to command, or the best of subjects to obey: nevertheless, these retailers of lies and scandal made their own advantage of them, and set their instruments at work, to alarm the country with the most tragical accounts; and that they had at last made a discovery of the plot concerted betwixt the king and Montrose, for subverting religion, and reducing the country to a state of slavery: yet for all that they durst not bring him to

an open trial; but having apprehended him when he had no suspicion of their design, together with the Lord Napier of Merchiston, and Sir George Stirling of Keir, both of them his relations and most intimate friends, they imprisoned them in the castle of Edinburgh.

A peace being at last concluded betwixt the two nations, though in effect there had been no war betwixt them, but what they had mutually agreed to wage against their most just and gracious sovereign, a parliament was held at Edinburgh, * where the king himself was present. Montrose earnestly desired to be tried before the king and parliament; but to no purpose: for the covenanters, conscious of his innocence and of their own guilt, resolved to detain him in prison till such time as the king should leave Scotland, and that they had prevailed on him to grant them every thing they wanted in parliament; for they were afraid, had they set him at liberty, that, by his wisdom and courage, and the great influence he had both with the nobility and the commons, he might have persuaded great numbers to be of the same sentiments with himself, for the safety and preservation of the king and the royal authority; and accordingly they made an order in parliament, that he should not be allowed to go into the king's

* July 15, 1641.

presence. But after the king was returned to England, he and the other gentlemen, his fellow-prisoners, were set at liberty; upon which he went to his own house, and remained there some time. This was towards the end of the year 1641.

CHAP. II.

The behaviour of the covenanters in England.—Montrose confers with the queen at York; is supplanted by the Marquis of Hamilton, whose advice is followed.—The covenanters call a convention at Edinburgh.—Montrose's conference with Mr Henderson, from whom he learns the designs of the covenanters.

In the year 1642, the covenanters in both kingdoms began to lay aside the mask, and to carry their matters above board. The rebels in England vexed the king with their unjust and unreasonable petitions and complaints; they loaded him with reproach, and abused his royal name in their ballads, and scurrilous libels and pasquils; yea, they went so far as to incite and spirit up the common people to mob him in his own palace, and even to use threatenings against him. He might very justly by his own authority have punished these scandalous and tumultuous proceedings, but he chose rather to refer them to the parliament, thinking by that means to melt them down to submission and obedience: but it was to no purpose for him to confer obligations upon such an ungrateful set of men; for they themselves were the authors and abettors of all those insolent tumults, notwithstanding he had most graciously bestowed numberless

favours upon them ; and had yielded more for the ease of their pretended grievances, and the security of the subject, than all the kings of England, from the time of William the Conqueror, had done before him. Therefore at last, much contrary to his inclination, he was forced to retire from London for the safety of himself and family : for the queen's greater security he sent her to Holland ; and he himself came down to York. The states of parliament, as they called themselves, immediately thereupon took up arms ; and these very forces which his majesty had raised for the relief of Ireland, and were in readiness for that expedition, they now turned against the king himself ; having before had the address to procure the officers all of their own naming.

The rebels in Scotland, who knew well that the king had a sufficient strength to overpower the English, resolved not to be wanting in assistance to their brethren in England, now when they stood in need of it ; and though the king in the late parliament at Edinburgh had most graciously given them full satisfaction in every thing they could desire, which they declared in their public acts, *

* The Earl of Loudon, in name of the nobility, and Sir Thomas Hope junior, in name of the gentry, made congratulatory speeches to his majesty, for giving them full satisfaction in every thing concerning religion and liberty, *so that now a contented king was to depart from a contented country.—Guth. Mem.* p. 108.

yet they now resolved to carry on a war against him in England. But that they might provide for the security of affairs at home, they again endeavoured all they could to draw Montrose over to their side, as he was the only person of whom they were afraid. They offered to make him lieutenant-general of their army, and to do for him whatever else he should demand that was in their power: but he rejected all their offers; and perceiving that the storm would inevitably soon burst out, he set out for England to acquaint the king of the state of affairs, so that he might in due time be provided against it, taking with him only the Lord Ogilvy as his companion and confident.

When he came to Newcastle, he got account that the queen was returned from Holland, and had just landed at Burlington in Yorkshire.* He went directly to her, and informed her how matters stood; but as she was fatigued with her voyage, having had a very stormy passage, she told him, that she would consult these matters deliberately when they came to York. Accordingly, after they came there, she sent for him, and he again laid every thing before her majesty at full length, and showed her that there was as much danger to be apprehended from the Scots covenanters as from the English, if they were not timeously suppressed.

* End of February 1643.

Being asked, what, in this case, he would advise to be done? He answered, that it was proper to repel force by force; that the king wanted not many faithful and valiant subjects in Scotland, who had wealth, power, and courage, and were ready to withstand the covenanters, should they have the hardiness to enterprise any thing against the king; that the only thing they wanted was a warrant from his majesty, without which they would attempt nothing; but, if they were once clothed with his authority, this would so inspirit them, that there was nothing they would not venture upon for his service; that the only risk was in a delay, for that the covenanters, had they once got an army on foot, would then have it in their power to suppress any after-rising upon the very first motions; that it was, therefore, necessary to check so great an evil in the bud, for that it was too late to administer medicines when the disease had infected the whole body.

This was a wholesome and seasonable advice, and the queen would undoubtedly have embraced it, had not her mind been altered by the Marquis of Hamilton, who came from Scotland on a pretence only to pay his respects to the queen, and to congratulate her majesty upon her safe return, though, in fact, he had come up with the knowledge and consent of the covenanters, merely to thwart Montrose's counsels. He did not, indeed, deny but there was some danger from the

covenanters, but he endeavoured to extenuate it; and condemned Montrose's advice as rash, imprudent, and unseasonable. That stout and warlike nation, he said, was not to be reduced by force of arms, but by gentleness and good treatment; war, a civil war especially, ought to be the last remedy, as even the conqueror had often reason to repent it; that, at any rate, the fortune of war was uncertain;—that though the king should get the better, it would prove but a very sorry triumph over his own subjects;—and that, should he be defeat, he might expect such treatment as shocked him even to name; that, therefore, all means possible should be tried to preserve peace with Scotland; and things were not yet come to that pass, that he despaired of bringing about a peace, and reconciling the nation to the king; and that, in short, he himself would undertake to bring it about, if his majesty would intrust him, and authorize him as his commissioner for that effect. Montrose replied, That this advice could answer no manner of purpose, but to spin out the time till the covenanters should raise an army, and thereby deprive the king of all opportunity of defending himself and his friends from their oppression; and this opinion was but too well justified by the melancholy turn that affairs took afterwards. However, Montrose, who was not such a thorough courtier, and as yet not well known to the queen, though his excellent qualities were already admir-

ed by all the rest of the nation, was forced to submit; and the Duke of Hamilton, having thus obtained a kind of victory, returned to Scotland, and in appearance seemed extremely active in promoting the king's affairs.

In the mean time the covenanters, by their own authority, called a convention of the estates to be held at Edinburgh, * though contrary to the express laws of the kingdom. † All the intelligent men of the nation, who wished well to the king, were convinced that this would prove destructive to his affairs, and, therefore, resolved to absent themselves from it, lest, by their presence, they might seem to acknowledge it as a lawful convention. But the Marquis of Hamilton wrote circular letters, inviting them all in the king's name to attend the convention, for that he did not doubt but they would have the majority of votes on their side, providing they were not backward to come and assist his majesty at this juncture; and if they should happen to be outvoted, that he and his friends were resolved to protest against their proceedings, and leave them directly. Most of the nobility, excepting Montrose, and the few who adhered to him, came up to the convention, being enticed by Hamilton's using the king's name, and

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* June 22, 1643.

† This was done by the advice of Sir Thomas Hope, the king's advocate, a virulent covenanter.

encouraged by the hopes which he gave them. The marquis thereupon employed his friends to solicit Montrose, that, as he loved and honoured the king, he would likewise attend the convention. Montrose, who justly suspected Hamilton's conduct, returned for answer, that he was ready to grapple with any difficulty at his desire, as his majesty's commissioner; but on this condition, that the marquis should engage his honour, that, if they could not obtain just and reasonable terms from the convention, he should endeavour to obtain them by force of arms. To this the marquis replied, That he was resolved in that case to protest against them, but that he would not fight. This reply made Montrose resolve to lie by, and keep his hands clean, and therefore he remained at home to wait the event.

When the convention met, the covenanters had a majority of about seventy votes. In the course of their proceedings, they trampled upon the king's authority, and arrogated to themselves the exercise of his prerogative, in calling parliaments, levying armies, entering into alliances with foreign princes, and several other things, which till now were never done but by the king himself, or by his consent. But what crowned all, they decreed to raise a powerful army for the assistance of their brethren, the covenanters in England, against the king, and to defray this expence, they imposed much higher taxes and subsidies upon the people, than had been

done for a course of 2000 years, by a succession of an hundred and nine monarchs, even in their greatest straits, though all that they had levied were put together in one sum.

Montrose saw, with great concern, that the king would be ruined even by his own authority; but, as he found himself alone too weak to oppose the united strength of the covenanters, and the king's express commands, he kept his mind to himself. The covenanters, on the other hand, imagining he might possibly be disobliged with the king on account of the repulse he had got at York, and that the Marquis of Hamilton had been preferred to him, thought it now a proper time to make another attempt to draw him over to their side, either by entreaties or promises. They offered him both money and power, and that he should have the highest offices, both civil and military, conferred upon him. He seemed as if he did not altogether dislike their proposal, in order that he might the more easily pry into their designs; but he pretended to have some scruples; and, in order to satisfy these, and improve this promising appearance, they sent to him Mr Alexander Henderson, that great apostle of their covenant. Montrose wanted extremely to have a conversation with Mr Henderson, as he expected to pump out of him all the secrets of the covenanters; but lest a private meeting might give offence to the king's friends, he resolved to take along with him the Lords Napier

and Ogilvy, Sir George Stirling of Keir, and some others of the king's side, to be witnesses to the conference; and, accordingly, they all met upon the banks of the river Forth, not far from Stirling.

Montrose professed himself very happy in the visit of a man of Mr Henderson's character, upon whose fidelity, honesty, and prudence, he could rely, even in the weightiest matters. He told him that he had lived at home for some time past, in order to remove those jealousies that had been conceived against him by his enemies, on account of some late differences; that, by this means, he was quite ignorant of what had been done in the convention, and was at a loss how to act in so ticklish a state of affairs; and therefore begged of him to inform him freely and ingenuously what they designed to do. Henderson thinking, by these expressions, that he actually inclined to the covenanters, and that he might thereby oblige Montrose, told him plainly, that they were resolved to raise a powerful army for the assistance of their brethren in England against the king's forces; and that the covenanters in both kingdoms had unanimously resolved either to die or to bring the king to their terms; that nothing was more earnestly wished for, or would be more acceptable to the nation in general, than that he should join with the rest of the nobility, and the other states of the kingdom, to promote so good an end; and that it would redound much both to his profit and honour; for

that the few, if there were any, who yet respected the empty shadow of royalty, would immediately follow his example, and come over to the covenanters; and that, for his own part, he would return his most hearty thanks to God for vouchsaving to make him the instrument and mediator of so great a work. He therefore earnestly entreated him to speak out his mind, and to entrust to his care and diligence what he would have the convention do either for his profit or honour; for he was sure he had nothing to do, but to ask and have.

Montrose having thus got information of their real designs, which was all he wanted, studied now how he might keep them yet a while in suspense as to his resolutions. He foresaw, that, should he immediately declare himself their enemy, it would be of no service to the king, and might prove destructive to himself. On the other hand, his generous mind disdained to encourage their hopes, or to promise what he was resolved not to perform. He fell, therefore, upon this method: Sir James Rollock, a gentleman of an opulent and ancient family, had come along with Mr Henderson to this conference. Sir James had formerly married Montrose's sister, and, after her death, he had married a sister of the Marquis of Argyle, who was in a manner the head of the covenanters; thus being equally allied to both of them, he seemed to be a very fit mediator of friendship betwixt them. Mon-

trose asked him, whether the offers they now made him were authorized by the convention, or had proceeded merely from themselves? Sir James answered, That he imagined Mr Henderson had orders from the convention for what he said; but Henderson denied that he had any such authority; only, he said, that he made no question but the convention would make good what he promised. Montrose had thereupon said, he could come to no conclusion, without having the public faith to rely upon, especially as the messengers disagreed betwixt themselves. Whereupon they mutually blamed one another, as commonly happens in such cases, when really their own carelessness and neglect only was in fault. Thus the conference concluded, by which Montrose got the information he wanted, and they returned as wise as they came, to give an account of their success.

CHAP. III.

Montrose goes to the king, then at Gloucester; his advice approved by the king.—Measures concerted.—Assistance from Ireland promised by the Earl of Antrim.—The Marquis of Hamilton and his brother go up to court, and are disgraced.—Montrose sets out for Scotland.

The Marquis of Montrose, returning from this conference, related all that passed to some of his select friends, in whom he principally confided; and at the same time entreated them to go all together with him in a body to the king, whereby they would gain the greater credit, and, by informing him more fully of the state of affairs, might prevail on him to take more salutary measures, and thereby, if possible, ward off the storm which he now saw impending.

Most of them were very backward in the matter: they were of opinion, that the king and his authority were already utterly ruined; and that it was impossible to reduce the kingdom to its proper obedience; for their own parts, they said they had sufficiently acquitted themselves before God, the world, and their own consciences, by persisting hitherto in their fidelity and allegiance, even with the loss of their reputations, and the hazard of their lives and fortunes; that for the future they

were resolved to have no further concern in these civil commotions, but to live quietly at home, and offer up their prayers to God Almighty for better times.

Montrose, who, notwithstanding all discouragements, and though thus disappointed by his friends, could not be diverted from his honourable purposes, communicated his design to Lord Ogilvy, with whom he had always lived in the strictest friendship, and set out straight for Oxford. When he came there, the king was gone down to the siege of Gloucester; however, he informed the queen what the covenanters were designing against his majesty, but his labour was lost, for such was her confidence in the Hamiltons, and prepossession in their favour, that she would believe no information but what came from them.

When Montrose found he could do no good with the queen, he went down to Gloucester, and informed the king himself of what he knew, that there was a very strong army to be raised in Scotland, and that the day was already appointed when they were to march into England. He told his majesty by what means he came to know their designs, and that the highest post in the army had been offered him, as a bait to bring him over to their side; but, as he detested their cause, he had rejected their offers, and came off immediately to inform his majesty, that if he could not provide a sufficient remedy for the evil, he might, at least,

have time to consider of some means to retard their designs, till his affairs in England were settled: that the rebels in either kingdom might be easily dealt with separately; but if they had once joined their forces, it would then be a matter of very great difficulty; that there were many people in Scotland, who were ready to sacrifice every thing for their king; but if the covenanters had once raised an army, the loyalty of these would be of little service to his cause, and would prove destructive to themselves. He insisted, therefore, that it was proper quickly to check the forward spirit of the covenanters, and to break their forces before they came to a head, lest, by neglecting them at the first, there might be reason to regret it when too late. These things Montrose constantly pressed home upon the king, but in vain; for he had to struggle not only with that entire confidence which the king reposed in the Hamiltons, but with a set of abandoned courtiers, whose constant theme was Montrose's youth, rashness, and ambition, and his hatred and envy of the Hamiltons, of whose integrity, fidelity, discretion, and power, they on the contrary spoke in very high terms.

By these means, Montrose's endeavours were to no purpose. The king returned to Oxford for his winter-quarters; and though, by the frequent reports which came to him of the Scots army, he perceived, that Montrose had told him nothing

but truth; yet he was firmly determined not to give his Scots subjects the smallest ground of complaint, unless they entered England. He had resolved religiously to observe the treaty lately made with them, and if they should break it, he doubted not but they would answer sufficiently for it, both to God and himself.

Such was the situation of affairs at Oxford. In the mean time, the covenanters in Scotland got every thing carried on there according to their mind, without any opposition. They had raised a very considerable army, which consisted of 18,000 foot and 2000 horse, and was already advanced as far as the borders.

The Hamiltons now at last thought fit to advertise the king of the approach of this army. In the letters which they wrote upon this occasion, they endeavoured to excuse their own conduct; and alleged, that, according to their engagements to his majesty, they had been at no small pains to prevent this invasion during the summer, but that it was not in their power to prevent it now, that winter was come on: however, they promised, that without fail they should immediately follow them with a superior army. When the king found himself thus grossly abused by the Hamiltons, he at length called for Montrose, and having showed him the letters he had received from the Hamiltons, now when it was too late, he earnestly asked his advice what should be done? Montrose

embraced that opportunity to convince his majesty, that the advices he had formerly given him proceeded neither from ambition nor avarice, nor from any hatred or envy he entertained against the family of Hamilton, but solely from his duty and allegiance to his majesty; that now for twelve months and more, he had been constantly advertising both his majesty and his royal consort of the certainty of this storm, and reckoned himself very unhappy, that his fidelity obtained no credit with so good a master. His affairs seemed now, he said, to be brought to a desperate pass, which might easily have been prevented, had not his majesty relied upon such persons as, under colour of his authority, had bound up the hands of some, and under a pretence of his interest, led on others to such measures as had naturally at last produced a rebellion, and who now, in the end, though they had got an army at their command, had notwithstanding yielded every thing to the rebels without the stroke of a sword. The king was sensibly touched with Montrose's expostulation, and confessed that he now perceived he had been shamefully betrayed by those whom he had trusted with his crown and honour, his life and secrets; and insisted most earnestly with him for his advice. Montrose answered, That though matters seemed to be in a very lamentable state, yet, if it pleased his majesty, he promised either to reduce the rebels to obedience, of which he did not yet alto-

gether despair, or lose his life in the attempt. The king, not a little encouraged with Montrose's confidence and courage in that desperate state of affairs, desired him to take two days to consider deliberately what was proper to be done; and dismissed him for that time.

He returned to the king at the time appointed, and laid before him what a difficult task he was about to undertake; that all Scotland was at the command of the covenanters; that they had garrisoned all the places of strength, and were abundantly supplied with men, money, arms, ammunition, provisions, and every thing requisite for carrying on a war; and that besides, the rebels in England were joined with them in a very close league, to defend one another against all the world; but for his own part, he had neither men, arms, nor money, nor any thing which could create a good opinion of his enterprise, or hopes of success, at his first taking the field. Yet, notwithstanding all these discouragements, he would not distrust God's assistance in a righteous cause; and if it pleased his majesty to lay his commands upon him for that purpose, his affairs should be in no worse case than they were, whatever malice, envy, or danger he himself might undergo for his attachment to his majesty's interest, providing he could grant him a few demands. At first, it seemed very necessary for the success of his affairs, that he should order some men to be sent from Ireland,

and landed in the west parts of Scotland. Secondly, That he should order the Marquis of Newcastle, who then commanded that part of the king's forces which lay nearest to Scotland, to furnish Montrose with a party of horse to enter the south of Scotland, and by their assistance convey himself into the heart of the kingdom. Thirdly, That, if possible, he should obtain from the King of Denmark some troops of German horse. And, lastly, That a quantity of arms should be provided somewhere from abroad, and transported into Scotland. Nothing more, he said, was wanting on their part but industry and attention; the success depended upon God, and was to be left to his providence. The king approved his advice, and thanked him that he did not yet despair of success.

The king immediately sent for the Earl of Antrim, and communicated to him that part of Montrose's advice, as to the Irish auxiliaries. Antrim is of Scots extract, and descended from the noble and ancient family of the Macdonalds. He was a man of great estate and power in Ireland, and allied to some of the nobility of the first rank in England, having married the Duchess Dowager of Buckingham; but having been driven out of his own country, he lived at that time at Oxford. He very readidly undertook to procure the number of Irish required; and at the same time engaged himself voluntarily to Montrose, that he should land himself in Argyleshire, which lies opposite to the

north of Ireland, with ten thousand men, by the 1st of April 1644. This happened in the December preceding.

As to the foreign aids, and a store of arms, the king dispatched Sir John Cochran, his ambassador, with his commission and instructions to procure them. The orders to the Marquis of Newcastle were delivered to some of Montrose's own company; and Montrose himself having received the king's letters and commission to be lieutenant-governor of Scotland, and commander-in-chief of the king's forces there,* was preparing for his journey, when news was unexpectedly brought, that the Duke of Hamilton, and his brother the Earl of Lanark, were on their road to Oxford. In order to procure the easier access to the king, who had hitherto been always led by their advice, and to recover the former good opinion he had conceived of them, they gave out all along on their jour-

* Our reverend author is probably here mistaken, in saying Montrose was at this time made commander-in-chief; for other writers say, that he declined the chief command to prevent any envy or jealousy from the other nobility, and contented himself with being named lieutenant-general under prince Maurice, the king's nephew, whom he desired should be named general, or commander-in-chief. And accordingly we find, that our author afterwards takes notice, ch. xv. that his commission of commander-in-chief was brought him by President Spotiswood, after the victory of Kilsyth, and delivered him at Bothwell. Montrose was at this time also dignified with the title of Marquis.

ney through England, that, for their attachment to the king, they had been banished Scotland by the covenanters; that their estates were plundered, and they had with difficulty escaped with their lives. Montrose and his partizans immediately perceived that these reports were altogether false, and calculated merely to cover the suspicions of their late guilt; for, trusting to the favour and esteem wherein they formerly stood with the king, and to the powerful faction in court which was addicted to them, they made no doubt of attaining the same degree of favour, could they but find admission into the king's presence. Their only purpose of coming to court was, if possible, to disappoint Montrose's designs, and thereby to extinguish that little spark of loyalty which yet remained in Scotland. Montrose was sensible of this, and frankly begged of his majesty, that if he was again to restore these to his favour and confidence, who had already deceived him so often, he would allow him liberty to go abroad, and push his fortune in some foreign country; for he would never stand by and see his country ruined; not that he desired his majesty to use any severity towards them; only he entreated him to take care that they might not be suffered to perplex his affairs any more.

Notwithstanding, the king was, with much ado, prevailed on at their arrival * to forbid them the

* December 16, 1643.

court; and after all, he allowed the Earl of Lanark to stay within the city; but he immediately left Oxford, and went to London, where he addressed himself to the English parliament; after that he went down to the army of the Scots covenanters, which had now entered England, and from that time forth devoted himself entirely to their service. Lanark's escape struck the king so much, that he now saw it was high time to confine his brother, the duke, to prison. *

There were several Scotsmen, both at court and in the army, who were suspected, and not without reason, of inclining to the covenanters, and of having perfidiously discovered to them the king's secret counsels. In order to bring these to the test, Montrose fell on the following contrivance: He caused draw up a declaration, which, by the king's order, all the Scots that were there, and who would be esteemed loyal and dutiful subjects, were to subscribe; they professed thereby an abhorrence of the designs of the covenanters; particularly they condemned their bringing an army into England against the king, as contrary to the laws of the land, and an act of high treason; and solemnly promised to do their utmost endeavour to bring such as were guilty of it to justice, though with the risk of their lives and fortunes. This declaration

* The duke, whose patent as such had passed the seals two months before, was imprisoned in Pendennis Castle.

was readily subscribed by all men of honour and honesty; yet there were two, who, of all Scotsmen, after the Hamiltons, were most trusted by the king, the Earl of Traquair, and William Murray, a gentleman of the bed-chamber, * who, with very great difficulty, and partly through fear of discovering their own treacherous hearts, were at last induced to subscribe it; and they further promised, upon oath, to meet Montrose in Scotland, with some assistance, against a certain day; but in this they afterwards broke their oaths most unworthily.

After this, Montrose set out from Oxford for Scotland. But he was no sooner gone, than the friends of the Hamiltons, and other perfidious courtiers, began to represent him as a vain, ambitious young man, and that he had undertaken a thing which was impossible; and, in order to frighten any who should incline to assist in so noble an enterprise, they extolled the forces and strength of the covenanters most immoderately, and concluded, that no good could possibly be expected from Montrose.

Montrose, as he was conscious he did not merit such calumnious treatment, despised it with a becoming greatness of soul, and would not, on that

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* This Murray, one of the worst characters of that perfidious age, finally obtained from his injured master a patent creating him Earl of Dysart, but it never passed the seals. He was father of the celebrated Duchess of Lauderdale.

account, desist from the prosecution of his enterprise. He came first to York, and from thence to Durham, where he sent off the king's instructions to the Marquis of Newcastle, and next day they met and conferred. Newcastle told him there was a scarcity of every thing in his army; that, during the winter, the Scots had unexpectedly broke in upon him, and spoiled his recruiting, and that they were now quartering within five miles of his camp, much superior to him in numbers; and, in short, that he could not part with any of his horse, without the manifest hazard of the whole army. Montrose urged, on the other hand, that nothing could contribute more to the success of the war, than to send a part of his horse, in which he was pretty strong, with him into Scotland; as he would thereby either divert, or, at least, divide the enemy, and, by carrying home the war to their own country, force them to return to defend themselves. Newcastle courteously replied, that so soon as he was free from the present danger, he should be wanting in nothing to assist Montrose; which, as he was a person of so much honour and loyalty, he would undoubtedly have performed, had he continued longer in the command in these parts, and been but once sensible of Montrose's integrity and honour. In the mean time, all the assistance he could afford him, in the present strait, was only an hundred horse, and these very lean and ill appoint-

ed, and two small brass field-pieces; * which was not the general's fault, but occasioned by some men's sinistrous views. He further sent orders to the king's officers, and captains of the militia in Cumberland and Westmoreland, to attend Montrose with their companies when he was to set out for Scotland, and give him what assistance they could. Accordingly, when he was on his road to Carlisle, he was met by the Cumberland and Northumberland militia, to the number of eight hundred foot, and three troops of horse, who, in obedience to Newcastle's orders, were to follow him into Scotland. He himself had two hundred horse, most of them noblemen and gentlemen, who had served as officers either in Germany, France, or England. With this small army, and that not over trusty, he entered Scotland, on the 13th of April 1644, and made the greater expedition, lest he should disappoint the Earl of Antrim at the time concerted betwixt them.

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* The Duchess of Newcastle, in the Memoirs of her husband's life, asserts, that he gave 200 horse and dragoons to Montrose, "though he stood most in need of a supply himself, and thought every day to encounter the Scottish army."

CHAP. IV.

Montrose's English soldiers mutiny and desert.—He takes in the towns of Dumfries and Carlisle.—State of affairs in Scotland.—Sets out for Scotland in disguise; arrives at Graham of Inchbrakie's house in Perthshire.

MONTROSE having entered Scotland, and advanced the length of the river of Annan, a mutiny arose among his English soldiers, upon some provocation given them by Richard Graham's servants, and they immediately left him, and went back to England. Nevertheless, he marched forward to Dumfries with his own men, which was surrendered to him by the inhabitants. He waited here some days in expectation of the Earl of Antrim and his Irish auxiliaries; but the time which he had fixed being now long elapsed, and there being neither any notice from him, nor report of his landing in Scotland, and the covenanters every where overspreading the country in considerable bodies, he found himself in danger of being surprised by them, if he did not speedily shift his quarters: he therefore returned to Carlisle, where he arrived safely with his troops. *

* Sir James Turner, in his MS. Memoirs, mentions an invitation sent at this time to Montrose to occupy Stirling

When he found that he could neither procure any succours from England, nor saw any prospect

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and Perth. " Meane while my Lt.-Colonell (a brother of the Lord Sinclair) and I had severall consultations with my Lord Erskine, my Lord Napier, the Master of Napier, the Master of Maddertie, and Laird of Keir, all of them verie loyall persons, with whom we concluded it was fit to send two, one from them, and another from us, to Montrose, who was then in the border, to invite him to come to Stirline, where he sould find castle, toune, and regiment at his devotion, and St Johnston likewise. And, least he might think we meant not honestlie, in regard there had been no good understanding between him and my Lord Sinclare formerlie, his neece, the Ladie Keir, sent him a well-known token with Harie Stewart, who was the man we sent; and this he receaved. The messenger they sent was young Balloch Drummond, then very loyall, whatever he was afterwards. I beleeve he got not to him; bot Montrose having a little too sone entered Scotland, and met with a rasle near Dumfries, and upon it retired to England; it seems he thought it not safe with so inconsiderable troops to hazard so far as to Stirline, perhaps not giving full trust to our promise, and most because the committee had appointed a second levie, which then was farre advanced, under the command of the Earl of Callander, who, with the deepest oathes, even wishing the Supper of our Lord to turne to his damnation, which he was to take next Sunday, if ever he sould engadge under them, or with these covenanters, had persuaded me in his oune house of Callander, and upon a Lord's day too, that he would faithfullie serve the king. I say, by Montrose his neglect, and Callander's perfidie, was lost the fairest occasion that could be wished to do the king service; for, if that levie had been suppr€st, as very soon it would, and Montrose have comed to Stirline and joynd with

of speedy assistance from abroad; when he had lost all hope of the Irish auxiliaries, and, besides, had the mortification to hear that the Earl of Callander had raised a new army in Scotland to strengthen General Lesly, who, along with the English covenanters, had by this time laid siege to York; he, resolving not to be altogether inactive, determined to join the king's forces which were in Northumberland and Durham. This resolution proved neither unprofitable to them nor dishonourable to himself; for he immediately drove a garrison of the covenanters out of the town of Morpeth, and took the castle; he gave the pillage to his English soldiers, and dismissed the garrison upon their giving their parole that they should never more draw a sword against the king.

His next attempt was upon a fort at the mouth of the river Tyne, which the covenanters some time before had taken from an English garrison;

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our two regiments, as easilie he might, he wold with the assistance of Huntlie in the north, and these Irish, who soone after came over from Antrim, have reduced Scotland, without bloodshed, to their dutie and obedience, or else the Scots armie beene forced to have left England, and marched home to oppose us; upon whose retreate it is more than probable most of England wold have embraced the king's interest; the reputation of the Scots armie at that time keeping up the English parliament's interest; bot the inauspitious fate and disastrous destinie of the incomparablie good king wold not have it to be so."

this he likewise took, and sent the prisoners into Scotland, upon the same conditions as he did those he had taken at Morpeth; and then supplied Newcastle plentifully with corn from Alnwick, and other places thereabouts. After this success he received letters from Prince Rupert, Count Palatine of the Rhine, who was then marching up to raise the siege of York, desiring him to come to his assistance: he obeyed the summons with all expedition; but for all the dispatch he made, he did not come up with the prince till he was upon his retreat from York, the day after that unfortunate battle. * The prince at first frankly offered him a thousand horse to carry with him into Scotland; but some of the people about the prince, who had too much influence with him, made him alter this resolution; in so much, that the very day after he had made that offer, Montrose could not prevail with him to give him a single horse. †

Montrose, though thus disappointed at all quarters from which he expected any assistance, yet never lost his courage; and returning to Carlisle with these few, but trusty and valiant, companions

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* This battle of Marston-moor was fought the 2d of July 1644.

† Prince Rupert is represented by Sir Philip Warwick, and other historians, as having been exceedingly harsh in manners, "answering every proposal he did not like with a pish."

who stuck by him, he dispatched from thence the Lord Ogilvy and Sir William Rollock in disguise, that they might escape the enemy, to go into the heart of Scotland, and learn the situation of affairs there. They returned in about fourteen days, and brought an account that all was lost in Scotland; that the whole passes, towns, and forts, were in the hands of the covenanters; and that they did not find any person who dared to speak with any tolerable reverence or affection of his majesty. Struck with these melancholy accounts, many of those who had hitherto adhered firmly to Montrose, begun now to cast about how they might best provide for their own safety. What contributed not a little to stagger them in their resolution was the intrigues of the Earl of Traquair, who, forgetting all the vows and imprecations he had made before the king, undertook, in name of the covenanters, not only for an indemnity, but for rewards and preferments to all who should desert the king's cause and join them; as if he had been all the while an agent for the covenanters, and not for the king, as he pretended: yet this very man stood highest in the king's favour, and was more trusted than any other person, excepting the Hamiltons.

Montrose upon this called his friends together, to advise with them what was proper to be done in this miserable conjuncture. Some were of opinion that he should go to Oxford, and inform his

majesty that his affairs in Scotland were past recovery; that the Earl of Antrim had not come with his Irish auxiliaries as he promised, and that there was no reason to expect them; that little or no assistance had been got from the English; and as to any supply either of men or arms from abroad, he had not so much as heard a word of it; so that it was none of his fault, that the business committed to him had not met with better success. Others again advised him to return his commission to the king, with letters of excuse; and that he himself, in the mean time, should go abroad, till a more favourable opportunity of his being serviceable to his king and country should cast up: but all of them agreed, that nothing further should be attempted at that time. Montrose's generous and undaunted spirit represented the matter to him in a very different light: he conceived himself bound never to forsake his dearest lord and king, though reduced to the lowest ebb of fortune; that he ought never to despair in so just a cause; and if he should enterprise something beyond the reach of common apprehension, he was sure it would be interpreted to his own honour, and might possibly redound to the king's interest: for as it was uncertain whether the king's fortune, at that time so cross, might not, by a more favourable turn of Providence, be disposed at length to smile upon him; this, however, he held for certain, that, should he fall in the attempt, he would at least die ho-

nourably, and his death would be lamented by all good men.

Upon these motives he resolved privately with himself what conduct he would pursue; and recommending himself and his success to the care and protection of Almighty God, he afterwards performed such exploits, without men, without money, and without arms, which, as they were an admiration to us who were present, and eye and ear witnesses of them, so they may very properly be the objects of emulation and imitation to the greatest generals in succeeding ages. What these were will appear in the course of this history.

Montrose thereupon delivered over to Lord Ogilvy those few gentlemen who had remained constant in their fidelity to him, in order to convey them to the king; and as he had all along communicated his counsels to him, he likewise made him privy to his present resolutions, and charged him to entreat the king to hasten the supply, if not of men, at least of arms from abroad. He accompanied them two days journey on the road; but at length withdrew privately, leaving his horses, servants, and baggage behind him, and returned to Carlisle with all expedition. His company, not suspecting his departure, as they had Lord Ogilvy and his other most intimate friends still along with them, continued their march to Oxford; but they never reached that length; for the most of them, particularly Lord Ogilvy himself, John Innes, who

was colonel of a regiment of horse, Henry Græme his own brother, a very promising young man, James, John, and Alexander Ogilvies, Patrick Melvil, and several others, all gentlemen of great bravery, and particularly esteemed by Montrose,* fell into the enemy's hands, and endured a long and nasty imprisonment, until they were set at liberty by Montrose himself the next year, and afterwards proved of eminent service to him.

When he came to Carlisle, he imparted his design to the Earl of Aboyne, that he, whose assistance might afterwards be very necessary to him in the prosecution of it, might not have the least cause to complain, that an affair of such importance was gone about without his participation and advice; but, at the same time, being afraid of the fickleness and inconstancy of that young nobleman, he did not incline to take him along with him on so hazardous a journey; and, therefore, easily prevailed on him to remain at Carlisle, till he should hear what success he had in Scotland, by which time it might be more seasonable for him to return into the country.

Being now prepared for his journey, he made choice of only two men for his companions and guides, Sir William Rollock, a gentleman of approved honour, and remarkable both for his knowledge and courage, and one Sibbald, who was much

* Among these was Dr Wishart himself, our reverend author.

respected by Montrose for the report of his valour, but who afterwards deserted him in his difficulties. Montrose disguised himself as a groom, and passed for Sibbald's servant; he rode upon a lean, jaded horse, and led another in his hand, and in this equipage proceeded to the borders, where he found all the ordinary and safe passes carefully guarded by the enemy. But two accidents befell him which gave him much greater concern; for not far from the border, he fell in by chance with a servant of Sir Richard Graham's, who, taking them to be some of the covenanters, and of Leslie's army, who were often patrolling thereabouts, he told them very frankly and confidently, that his master was in very good terms with the covenanters, and had undertaken to be their spy, and give them intelligence of every one who came that way, whom he suspected to be of the king's side; an office which appeared to Montrose the more shameful and inexcusable, that he had always entertained a very good opinion of Sir Richard, and that his majesty, out of his own favour and mistaken bounty, had raised him from the very dunghill to the honour of knighthood, and an estate which was the envy of his neighbours. They had not long parted with this man, when they met a soldier, a Scotsman, who had served under the Marquis of Newcastle in England. He, passing by the other two gentlemen, came up directly to Montrose, and saluted him by his name. Montrose endeavoured

to wave the compliment, and refused that he was the person; but the soldier was positive, and with a voice and countenance full of humility and duty, cried out, "Do not I know my Lord Marquis of Montrose well enough? But go your way, and God be with you." When he saw that the soldier knew him, and that it was in vain to conceal himself from him any longer, he gave him some money and left him; and the man proved very faithful, and never discovered his having passed that way.

These things alarmed Montrose prodigiously, and made him push forward, if possible, to anticipate any accounts there could be of his journey. He did not spare his horses, or draw bridle, till after four days travel, he came to the house of Patrick Graham of Inchbrakie, his cousin, not far from the river Tay, on that side of the shire of Perth which lies next the Highlands.* Inchbrakie was descended of the noble family of Montrose, and as he was endowed with qualities worthy of his descent, the marquis, very deservedly, had a great confidence in him. He staid there for some days, passing his time through the night in a little obscure cottage, and in the day time in the neighbouring mountains alone; for he had dis-

* This was not the house of Inchbrakie, which lies within a mile of the river Earn, and ten miles from the Tay; but the house of Tillibelton, which then belonged to that family, and lies among the hills near the river Tay.—*Guth. Mem.* p. 161.

patched his fellow-travellers, Sir William Rollock and Mr Sibbald, to his friends to get intelligence, and bring him an exact account of the state of the kingdom.

After spending some days in procuring information, they returned with very tragical accounts of the situation of the country; that all the honest and loyal part of the nation was oppressed by the tyranny of the rebels; and of those who had attempted to preserve their liberty by taking arms, some were put to death, others grievously fined, and severals lay in prison, and daily expected to suffer the worst their enemies could do; that the Marquis of Huntly had very precipitantly taken up arms, but had yielded at the first summons of the enemy, though he had a very considerable body of men, who only wanted a fit commander; that, in consequence of this, his friends and followers were exposed to the implacable malice and revenge of their enemies, and that he himself had fled to the uttermost corner of the island, where he lay concealed. * Montrose was exceedingly affected with these news, especially with Huntly's bad conduct, and the ruin of the Gordons; and not without reason, for the gentlemen of the name of Gordon were remarkable for their loyalty and valour, and therefore the more to be pitied, being

* He retired to Lord Reay's house in Strathnaver.

thus oppressed not for any fault of their own. However, he began to consider if he might not prevail upon them to join with himself, and try their fortune again under another general, in behalf of the king.

CHAP. V.

The Irish arrive in the Highlands.—Montrose meets them in Athole;—is joined by the Athole-men,—and by Lord Kilpont and Sir John Drummond;—defeats the covenanters at Tippermoor.

In the mean time, a report prevailed among the shepherds in the hills, that a body of Irish had landed in the north of Scotland, and was marching through the Highlands. Montrose thought this not unlikely, and that it might be some part of the Irish auxiliaries, which the Earl of Antrim had engaged to send him four months before. However, he could conclude nothing certain about it, till he received letters from some of the Highland gentlemen, his intimate friends; particularly from Alexander Macdonald, to whom Antrim had given the command of this small body of Irish. These letters they had sent to one of their friends, who was of the same sentiments with themselves, in order, if possible, to be transmitted by him to Carlisle, where they imagined Montrose still was. This gentleman, who suspected nothing of Montrose's return to Scotland, though he lived in the neighbourhood of Inchbrakie's house, by a lucky accident acquainted Mr Graham of these letters,

and very readily took the charge of them, and promised to have them faithfully delivered into Montrose's own hands, though he should ride to Carlisle with them himself; and thus, by a very singular direction of Providence, they came to his hand much sooner than possibly could have been expected. He returned his answer as if he had been still at Carlisle, and desired them to keep up their spirits, for they should not be long without a seasonable reinforcement, and a general at their head; and at the same time ordered them, with all expedition, to fall down into Athole. He chose this country for the place of his first rendezvous; because, besides the obligations which the Atholemen lay under to himself, he entertained a high esteem for them on account of their extraordinary and constant fidelity and loyalty to his majesty, and their remarkable courage and bravery; so that he reckoned himself sure of them; and, indeed, they continued to deserve his good opinion, even to the conclusion of the war.

The Irish, and a very few Scots Highlanders, who were almost all from Badenoch, so soon as they had received Montrose's orders, marched directly down to Athole. As he was not then distant from them above twenty miles, he set out on foot in a Highland dress, accompanied only with his cousin Patrick Graham, as his guide, and joined them so unexpectedly, that the Irish could hardly be persuaded the man whom they saw was the Marquis of

Montrose; till, being saluted by the Athole-men and others, who knew him perfectly well, and almost paid him the honours of a guardian angel, they were convinced to their very great joy. He came to them in the nick of time, for they were in the most imminent danger. Argyle was in their rear with a strong and regular army; the low country was all in arms, waiting their coming down into the plains, and in such numbers as would have trode them down with their horses: the vessels that brought them over had been burnt by Argyle, to prevent their escape: the Athole-men, and even others that favoured the king's cause, refused to join in any enterprise with or for them, as they were strangers, and apparently had come without any authority from the king; besides, they were not commanded by any person of a noble or ancient family, a thing much respected by the Highlanders; and they would not fight under the command of Alexander Macdonald, whom they considered as an upstart;* and then their number

* Some curious details concerning the Macdonalds, during their last transactions in Scotland, are contained in the following extract from Sir James Turner's Memoirs:—"Shortlie after, Lieut.-General Lesley having reduced the north to the obedience of the Committee of Estates, by taking all Huntley's houses, and chaceing himselfe and his party to his Hieland shelters, marched south, being to goe into Kintire. I met him at Dumblaine, where lies the late Marquis of Argile and Major Generall Holburne, who easilie persuaded me

was inconsiderable, not being above eleven hundred, though ten thousand was promised.

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to accept of the adjutant-general's office in the armie, then vacant; for, indeed, I thought it duetie to fight against these men, who first had deserted their Generall Montrosse, as E. Aboine and Sir Alaster Macdonald had done when he stood most in need of them, which mainlie had occasioned his irieparable losse at Philipshauch, and nixt, had absolutlie refusd to lay down armes at the king's oune command, carried to them by Sir James Lesley. I was necessitated to stay for some baggage a day or tuo, and thereafter met the armie at Innerraray, Argile's chiefe house; from thence we marched to Kintire, which is a peninsull, both before and at the entrie of it, there were such advantages of ground, that our foot for mountaines and marshes, could never have draune vp one hundreth in a bodie, nor our horse above three in breast, which, if Sir Alaster had prepossessd with these thousand or 1200 brave foot, which he had with him, I think he might have routed us, at least, we sould not have enterd Kintire bot by a miracle. Bot he was ordaind for destruction, for by a speedie march, we made ourselves masters of these difficult passes, and got into a plaine countrey, where no sooner he saw our horse advance, but with little or no fighting he retird, and if the lieut.-general's foot had been with him, to have given the enemie a shot or two, which would have disorderd him, I beleeve none of them had escaped from our horse. Alaster, like a foole, (for no sojor he was, thogh stout enough,) put in 300 of his best men in a house on the top of a hill called Dunaverttie, environed with a stone wall, where there was not a drop of water, but what fell from the clouds. Then leaveing Kintire, he went to Yla, where he played just such another mad prank, leaveing his old father, commonlie called Coll Kettoch, with ueere 200 men in a castle called Dunneveg, where was no

The very next day the Athole-men, to the number of eight hundred, put themselves in arms, and

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water either bot what the heavens afforded. The rest of his men he carried to Ireland, (ane excellent general-major,) where he was killd in a battell fought by those with whom he joind against my Lord Taffe, now Earl of Carlingford. We beseegd Dunaverttie, which keeped out well enough, till we stormd a trench they had at the foot of the hill, whereby they commanded tuo stripes of water. This we did take in the assault. Fortie of them were put to the sword. We lossd five or six, with Argile's major. After the inexorable thirst made them desire a parley, I was ordered to speak with them, neither could the lieut.-general be movd to grant any other conditions, then that they sould yeeld on discretion or mercy. And it seemed strange to me to heare the lieut.-general's nice distinction, that they sould yeeld themselves to the kingdome's mercy, and not to his. At length they did so, and after they were comd out of the castle, they were put to the suord, everie mother's sonne, except one young man, Mackoul, whose life I begd to be sent to France, with a hundreth fellows whom we had smoakd out of a cave, as they do foxes, who were given to Captain Cambell, the chancellor's brother.

"Here it will be fit to make a stop, till this cruell action be canvasd. First, The lieut.-generall was tuo days irresolute what to doe. The Marques of Argile was accusd at his arraignment [of] this murther, and I was examind as a witnes. I de[clared] which was true, that I never heard him advice the lieut.-general to it. What he did in private I know not. Secondlie, Argile was but a colonell there, and so had no power to doe it of himselfe. Thirdlie, Though he had advised him to it, it was no capitall crime; for councel is no command. Fourthlie, I have several times spoke to the

came and offered their service most cheerfully to Montrose, who being now provided with an army,

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lieut.-generall to save these men's lives, and he always assented to it; and I know of himselfe he was unwilling to shed their blood. Fifthlie, Mr John Nave (who was appointed by the Commission of the Kirke to waite on him as his chaplaine) never ceasd to tempt him to that bloodshed, yea, and threatened him with the curses befell Saull, for spareing the Amalekites, for with them his theologie taught him to compare the Dunaverttie men. And I verilie beleeve that this prevaild most with David Lesley, who lookd upon Nave as the representative of the Kirk of Scotland. Lastlie, There is no doubt but the lieut.-general might legallie enough, without the least transgression of either the custome, practice, or law of warre, or his oune commission, have vsd them as he did, for he was bound by no article to them, they having submitted themselves absolutelie to his discretion. It is true, on the other hand, *summum jus, summa injuria;* and in such cases, mercy is the more Christian, the more honourable, and the more ordinarie way in oure warres in Europe. Bot I reallie beleeve, advise him to that act who will, he hath repented it many times since, and even very soon after doeing it.

" From Kintire we went by sea to Yla, and immediatelye invested Dunneveg. I must remember by the way, that we carried bot about fourskore horses with vs, after we left Kintire, the rest of the troopes being left in Lorne, vnder the command of Coll. Robert Montgomerie, since general-major, who blockd vp the house of belonging to Mackoull in Lorne, whose clan was, as I said, extirpated very neere at Dunnaverttie. Dunnaveg, after a stout resistance, for want of water, came to a parley. I am appointed to treat with one Captain Oneale, and one Donald Gorum, who came out of the house on the lieut. generall's word. Life was pro-

and relying not upon his numbers, but on the providence of God in the protection of a just cause, wished for nothing more earnestly than an opportunity to try his strength, even with the stoutest of his enemies; and, impatient of any farther delay, he marched that very day through the plains of Athole towards Strathern, that his friends and others, whom the news of his motions might encourage to rise to his assistance, might have an opportunity to join him, before they were prevented by the enemy; and likewise that he might surprise the rebels, and attack them, before they could bring together their strength, which was then dispersed.

In his way, passing by the castle of Weme, which belongs to the Menzieses, as they had mal-

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mised to them; all the officers to goe where they pleased, the sojors to be transported to France, and given to Henry Sinclair, my old lieut.-colonell. The articles I saw couchd in writeing and signed by [bot]h Argile and Lesley. This capitulation was faithfully [ob]served. A little skurvie isle in the end of Yla was keepd by a bastard sonne of Coll Kittoch, which we left to its fortune. Bot before we were masters of Dunneveg, the old man Coll, comeing foolishlie out of the house where he was governour, on some parole or other, to speak with his old friend the captaine of Dunstaffnage Castle, was surprisd and made prisoner, not without some staine to the lieut.-generall's honor. He was afterwards hangd by a jury of Argile's sheriffe-depute, one George Campbell, from whose sentence few are said to have escapd that kind of death."

treated a messenger whom he had sent to them in a friendly manner, and had likewise attacked the rear of his army, he ordered his men to plunder their country, and burn their houses and corns; that by striking a terror into the country at his first entrance into the war, he might deter them from such insults thereafter. That very night he crossed the Tay, which is the greatest river in Scotland, with a part of his forces, and the rest followed next day very early in the morning. Being now ready to set out on his march, he gave the command of the Athole-men, at their own earnest desire, to Patrick Graham, of whom there will be often occasion to make mention in the course of this history, and never without honour, and immediately thereafter he dispatched him with the choice of the Athole-men, to bring him intelligence. He returned speedily with advice, that he had seen a body of armed men upon the hill beside Buchanty. They were commanded by Lord Kilpont, eldest son of the Earl of Monteith, of a very ancient and noble descent, and sprung from the illustrious family of the Grahams; and by Sir John Drummond, son to the Earl of Perth, and a relation likewise of Montrose. Both these gentlemen had been summoned by the covenanters to assist them against the Irish, as public enemies, and with that view they had brought out about five hundred men, for at this time they had heard nothing certain concerning Montrose. He marched straight up to

them, resolving, if he could not bring them over to his side, to overpower them directly; but, so soon as they understood Montrose commanded, they sent some of their principal officers to him to be informed what he intended. He returned for answer, that he acted by the king's authority, and had undertaken to defend it to the utmost of his power against that unnatural rebellion, and entreated them, as men for whom, on many accounts, he had a very particular regard, that they would not refuse their assistance to the best of kings; that as this was a service becoming their birth, and acceptable to his majesty, it could not fail to be conducive to their present advantage, and would, besides, redound to their everlasting honour and renown, both at home and abroad, should they prove the first who lent their assistance to support a tottering crown. They very readily and cheerfully complied with Montrose's entreaties, and joined him with their men directly, for both of them secretly favoured the king's cause.

Montrose was informed by them that the covenanters were gathered together in a very great body at Perth, and were waiting there to attack him as he came down from Athole. As he knew that Argyle and his army was following him at the heels, to prevent his being hemmed in betwixt these two armies, he resolved to march directly to Perth, and either force the enemy to an engagement, or take the town, and reduce it to his obedience. Accord-

ingly, after he had gone three miles from Buchanty, he allowed his men some short time to rest, and began his march by break of day. When he came within three miles of Perth, he saw the enemy upon a large extended plain, called Tippermuir, drawn up as if they waited a battle. They were commanded by Lord Elcho, who was not reputed an extraordinary soldier; and they had likewise with them the Earl of Tillibardine, and Lord Drummond; but the last, it was alleged, against his inclination, he and all his father's family being inclined to the king; besides several knights, among whom Sir James Scot was remarkable for his skill in military affairs, having served some time in the Venetian army with applause. Their army consisted of six thousand foot and seven hundred horse, and, trusting to their numbers, they had already confidently devoured their enemy in their expectations. It happened to be Sunday, the 1st of September, and their ministers were particularly charged to encourage the army, and animate them for the action by their sermons, putting them in mind of the Solemn League and Covenant to which they had sworn. And, indeed, they acted their parts to very good purpose, at the expence of their lungs, promising the army, in the name of Almighty God, that they should obtain an easy and unbloody victory. Among the rest, one Frederick Carmichael, who was esteemed by the common people the most eminent for learning and piety,

did not stick to say in his sermon, " That, if ever God spoke truth out of his mouth, he promised them, in the name of God, a certain victory that day."

Having finished their devotions, as they thought, in a manner well pleasing to God, they drew out their army in order of battle. Lord Elcho commanded the right wing, Sir James Scot the left, and the Earl of Tillibardine the main body; some troops of horse were placed on each wing, by which they expected in such an open plain to surround their enemy. When Montrose saw the superior number of the covenanters, and especially their strength in horse, as he himself had none, there being only three in all his army, * he was afraid they might surround him, and attack him all at once in the front, flank, and rear; therefore, to prevent this, he extended his front as much as he could, placing his files only three men deep; and, that they might all engage the enemy at the same time, he ordered the men in the first rank to rest upon one knee, those of the second to stoop, leaning over the first, and the last rank, in which he placed the tallest men, to stand erect. He ordered them likewise to be sparing of their powder, of which they were very scarce, and not to fire a single musket till they came up to the face of the enemy,

* Of these, two were for his own saddle, and the third for Sir William Rollock, who was somewhat lame.

and that having once discharged their pieces, they should immediately fall on boldly sword-in-hand; and if they observed these orders, he was confident the enemy would never stand their attack. Montrose himself took the charge of the right wing, which was opposed to Sir James Scot; the left he committed to Lord Kilpont, and placed Macdonald and the Irish in the centre. This was a very prudent disposition of his men, for, had he placed the Irish on the flanks, as they had neither pikes nor swords, they would otherwise have been much exposed to the enemy's horse.

Montrose in the mean time dispatched Mr Drummond, eldest son to Lord Maderty, a very accomplished young nobleman, with a message to the chiefs of the covenanters' army, importing, that he, as well as his royal master, by whose commission he acted, had the utmost abhorrence to shed the blood of his countrymen, and that it was their first and most earnest wish to obtain a victory without bloodshed; and this might be compassed by both armies at the same time, if, without trying the doubtful chance of a battle, they would lay down their arms and return to their duty and obedience to their sovereign. He assured them that, for his own part, he aimed at neither the places nor honours, estates nor lives, of any of his fellow-subjects, for whom, on the contrary, he entertained the greatest affection; all that he desired of them, and he obtested it most earnestly in the name of

God, was to consult their own safety, and hearken to his advice; nor any longer obstinately refuse to trust to the clemency, faith, and protection of so good a king; who, as he had hitherto fully complied with the demands of his Scots subjects as to matters both civil and religious, though to the very great detriment of his prerogative, so he was still ready, like a most indulgent parent, though provoked by repeated injuries, to embrace them with open arms, when convinced of their error, and become submissive. But if they should still continue obstinate in their rebellion, he called God to witness, that he was forced by their own stubbornness into the present encounter, for the consequences of which they alone were to be answerable. To this they made no return; but, contrary to the sacred law of nations, seized the ambassador, whose only motive for undertaking this office was his love to his country, and sent him under a guard to Perth, to be imprisoned like a malefactor; vowing, that so soon as they had got the victory, they would cut off his head; but God was more merciful, and saved this worthy young man, by ordering matters otherwise than they expected.

When the armies came within cannon-shot of one another, some choice men were ordered out from that quarter where Lord Drummond commanded, to skirmish with Montrose, and try his strength. He thereupon sent out a few to meet them, who, having routed them at the first onset, drove them

back in great confusion to the main body. Montrose judged this was the nick of time to make his attack, as nothing could more animate his men, or dispirit the enemy, than to fall upon them while yet in disorder, and alarmed with this first blow, before they had time to recover from their surprise, or to rally their men. He, therefore, ordered his whole army to begin the attack, and they immediately rushed forward upon the enemy, setting up a great shout. The enemy first discharged their cannon, which were planted in the front of their army, but being at a distance, they made a greater noise than they did execution; then marching down their army, the horse attacked Montrose; but as his men had already spent their powder, and few of them being armed with pikes, and many wanting even swords, they had recourse to such arms as were readiest, to wit, stones, of which, by chance, there was plenty at hand, and poured such vollies of these upon them, with so much strength and courage, as obliged them to retreat, and give them no more trouble. Both the Irish and the Highlanders behaved with the utmost bravery, striving to outdo each other, and bore so hard on the horse in their retreat, that they were at last forced to save themselves by a precipitate flight. The engagement continued longer and more violent on the right wing; for Sir James Scot contended obstinately for some time for the rising ground; but Montrose's men, who were superior

in strength of body, as well as quickness and agility, got possession of it; and the Athole-men, falling down from thence with their drawn swords upon the enemy, and disregarding the bullets, which were flying about their ears as thick as hail, came close up with them, and killed and cut down all before them. At last the enemy, no longer able to stand the shock, fairly betook themselves to their heels. Most of the cavalry saved themselves by the fleetness of their horses; but there was a very great slaughter among the foot, the conquerors pursuing for about six or seven miles. The number of the slain was computed to be about two thousand, and many more were taken prisoners. Of these some gave their oath of fidelity, and enlisted with the conqueror; but they did not continue long in their duty, most of them very soon after deserting him; the rest he set at liberty upon their parole, never afterwards to carry arms against the king or his generals. Perth surrendered to him that same day, * and he entered the town without committing the smallest hostility, though most of the inhabitants had fought against him in the field, thinking, by this singular instance of clemency, to reconcile the minds of the people more effectually to the king, which was the principal aim of all his designs.

* For some very amusing particulars respecting the surrender of Perth, see an original letter from the ministers there, printed in the Scots Magazine for November 1817.

CHAP. VI.

Montrose marches from Perth to Cupar in Angus.—Lord Kilpont assassinated by Ardvorlich.—Montrose is joined by the Earl of Airly and his two sons.—Marches northwards.—Defeats Lord Burleigh at Aberdeen.

Montrose halted three days at Perth, in hopes that many of the gentlemen of that country, who boasted much of their loyalty and attachment to the king, would be encouraged by the accounts of his late success to take arms, and join him with their friends and followers; but in this he was disappointed, for none came in to him but the Earl of Kinnoul, and a few gentlemen from the Carse of Gowrie; and even the most of these afterwards forsook him. By this time Argyle was drawing near, with a powerful army of foot, besides a good body of horse, who had joined him from the south. Montrose, therefore, thought it expedient to remove; so, crossing the river Tay, he encamped in the open fields, (as was his ordinary custom,) near Cupar, a small town in Angus, where formerly stood a famous monastery, which is now in ruins. Here he was met by that noble youth Sir Thomas Ogilvy, son to the Earl of Airly, and several others of the Angus nobility and gentry, who

frankly offered him their service. He received them very kindly, and, thanking them for their kind offers, dismissed them in order to prepare and equip themselves for the war. However, very few of them returned to him besides the Ogilvies.

Next morning, by break of day, and before the drums had beat for their march, the whole camp was in an uproar, and the men all running to their arms in the highest rage and fury. Upon the first alarm, Montrose, imagining that this tumult had arisen from some quarrel betwixt the Highlanders and the Irish, threw himself into the thickest of the crowd, in order to quell them; but, to his grief, he was soon undeceived, and saw what shocked him extremely, his noble and worthy friend, Lord Kilpont, newly murdered, and weltering in his blood. The villain who had assassinated him was one Stuart,* a vassal of his own, whom this young nobleman had treated with the greatest familiarity and friendship, insomuch, that that very night they had slept together in the same bed. It was alleged, that this abandoned wretch had resolved to murder Montrose himself, and, trusting to the great influence he had acquired with Lord Kilpont, he had conceived hopes of prevailing on him to become an associate in the parricide; but that, having disclosed his design in private to Kil-

* This man's name was James Stuart of Ardvorlich.—*Guth. Mem.* p. 165.

pont, he treated the proposal as it deserved, and rejected it with horror. Whereupon Stuart, dreading that he might discover the matter, had fallen upon him quite unguarded, and suspecting no harm from his friend, who lay under so many obligations to him, and wounded him mortally in several places. However, he made his escape, killing, in his way, the centinel who stood at the entry of the camp, it being so dark that those who pursued him could scarcely see the length of their pikes. Some were of opinion that he was bribed by the covenanters to perpetrate this execrable deed; but others thought he was allured only with the promise or hopes of a reward from them. However it be, this much is certain, that he has been in the greatest favour with them all along; and very soon after Argyle promoted him to considerable commands in the army, although he was no soldier. Montrose was very much afflicted with the untimely fate of this nobleman, who had been his own special friend, and most faithful and loyal to the king his master; and, besides his knowledge in polite literature, philosophy, divinity, and law, his character was eminent for probity and fortitude. After taking his farewell of the dead body, by embracing it with the greatest transports of grief, he delivered it to his sorrowful friends and servants, to be carried home to his parents, that he might be buried in a manner becoming that honourable family.

Montrose marched with the rest of his forces to Dundee; but that town, confident of its strength from the number of its inhabitants, and having, besides, got an addition of troops from Fife, refused to surrender. He thought it would be imprudent to hazard the reputation he had acquired by his late victory upon the doubtful success of a siege; and therefore turned aside, and directed his march towards the river of Esk, the rather in hopes of being quickly joined by several of his own friends and relations, who were men of considerable estates and followings in that part of the country, and who used to speak very highly of themselves, and of their loyalty to the king; but upon the first notice of his approach they all withdrew, except Ogilvy Earl of Airly, then a man of sixty years of age, who, with his two sons, Sir Thomas and Sir David, and many of his friends and vassals, all men of known courage, came and joined him; and they stuck firm to his interest during the whole course of the war, with admirable zeal and fidelity, notwithstanding the severest turns of fortune; being, besides Montrose himself, amidst this almost universal defection, the only remaining glory and ornament of the Scottish nobility.

In the mean time, he received intelligence, that some commissioners from the covenanters, of whom Lord Burleigh was the chief, *lay at Aberdeen with

* Robert Arnot of Ferney, who married the heiress of Burleigh, and had the title of Lord Burleigh, in virtue of a

an army; and were labouring hard, by fair means or foul, to draw over to their party all that north country, from which Montrose had hitherto expected the greatest succours. He resolved therefore to attack them before Argyle could join them with his forces; and set forward by very long marches. Having taken possession of the bridge on the river Dee, and advanced nearer the city, he found the enemy drawn up before it in order of battle. Lord Burleigh had with him two thousand foot, and five hundred horse; the last he disposed in the wings of his army, and having chosen the most advantageous ground, and planted his cannon in the front, he there waited, ready for action. Montrose's army was now reduced to fifteen hundred foot; for, besides that Lord Kilpont's men had gone home to convey the body of their dead master, most of the Athole-men, as they were not far from their own country, had gone off with their booty, and were not yet returned: and all the horse he had was but forty-four, which he

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letter from the king. His great grandson, the last Lord Balfour of Burleigh, while yet a young man, was condemned to be beheaded for the murder of a schoolmaster who had married a waiting maid, with whom Balfour was in love. But he escaped from prison in his sister's clothes, and afterwards joining the insurgents in the year 1715, was attainted by act of Parliament, and his estate, of L. 697 a year, and honours, were forfeited to the crown.

divided into two bodies; and strengthening them with some choice musketeers and archers, who, in point of agility and swiftness, were little inferior to his horse, he posted them in the wings of his army, to prevent the enemy's horse from surrounding him, which office they executed with intrepidity and success, even beyond expectation or belief. He gave the command of his right wing to James Hay and Nathaniel Gordon, and of the left to Sir William Rollock, all of them gentlemen of singular bravery. The rebels' left wing was commanded by Lord Lewis Gordon, son to the Marquis of Huntly, who was a bold fiery young man, but of a temper extremely violent and changeable, and had forced out his father's friends and clan, much contrary to their inclination, to take arms against Montrose.* He having got possession of the plain grounds, where his horse could engage with most

* This Lord Lewis Gordon afterwards became third Marquis of Huntly. Spalding records the following circumstance respecting him:—"About this time, (February 1641,) Lewis Gordon, being with his father the Lord Marquis of Huntly at London, upon some alleged miscontentment left his father's company without his knowledge, and to his great grief, for he unwisely conveyed away with him his father's haill jewells in a cabinet, being of great worth, and to Holland goes he, leaving his father sorrowful for his bad miscarriage, whilk, amongst the rest of his crosses, he behoved patiently to suffer, although he had not great store of wealth lying beside him at that time, for maintenance of his noble rank."

advantage, was marching up to attack Montrose's right wing: which Montrose observing, immediately ordered William Rollock, with his twenty horse from the left wing, to their assistance; and by the gallant behaviour of their commanders, and the activity of the foot-musketeers, they gave the enemy such a warm reception, that, though their number was no more than forty-four, they repulsed the enemy, who were three hundred, and put them in the utmost disorder, many of them being slain on the spot: but being so few themselves, they durst not pursue them, which was owing to the prudent conduct of their officers, and contributed not a little to their obtaining the victory; for the enemy immediately charged Montrose's left wing, which was now quite exposed for want of the horse, he thereupon marched up the horse to the left wing with surprising speed, the moment they had routed Lord Lewis, and their number being so greatly inferior to the enemy, as they could not extend their front so far, they fetched a compass, and thereby escaped the enemy's first charge, then wheeling about with great dexterity, they fell in upon their flank sword in hand, and making a dreadful slaughter among them, soon forced them to fly. The only gentlemen taken prisoners were, Forbes of Craigivar, a man of rank among the enemy, and Forbes of Boindly, all the rest got safe off, such a small number being afraid to pursue them far. The gentlemen who com-

manded the enemy's horse were more enraged by this second defeat, than intimidated by any loss they had sustained; and imputing Montrose's good success to those alert musketeers, whom he had interlined with his horse, they resolved to send for some picked foot from their main body, and so renew the charge a third time with greater vigour and briskness. Montrose suspected this, but was very unwilling to expose this handful of brave men to a third attack, especially as their horses were fatigued with the two former encounters, and the enemy's horse were now reinforced with a body of fresh foot. He had observed the enemy's horse still in great confusion, and at a considerable distance from their main body; and therefore resolved to assault them with his foot before they got time to rally, and riding up to his men, who had been very much galled by the enemy's cannon, he told them, that there was no good to be expected by disputing the matter at so great a distance, as thereby there was no distinguishing the strong from the weak, nor the coward from the brave, but that, if they should once make a home charge upon these timorous and effeminate striplings, they would never stand their attack: Come on, then, says he, my brave fellow-soldiers, fall down upon them with your swords and muskets, drive them before you, and make them suffer the punishment due to their perfidy and rebellion. They needed no more to in-

cite them, and immediately giving a brisk charge, they routed the whole army and put them to flight. The horse, who were expecting the foot that were ordered to mix in their ranks, when they saw them flying, followed also with greater speed, and got all safe off the field, the victors not being able to come up with them : but the foot met with a very different fate, few of them escaping with their lives; for, as they had no place to fly to but the town, Montrose's men followed hard at their heels, and made great havock among them on the streets.

This battle continued for four hours, with such various success, that none could determine which side would gain the victory. Montrose had some cannon, but they proved of no service to him, all the proper ground being occupied by the enemy : but their cannon did him considerable harm. Among others that were wounded, there was an Irishman had his leg shot off by a cannon ball, so that it hung only by a bit of skin, and perceiving his comrades affected with his disaster, he called to them in a cheerful and encouraging tone, " This, my companions, is the fate of war, and what none of us ought to grudge : go on, and behave as becomes you, and as for me, I am certain my Lord the Marquis will make me a trooper, as I am now disabled for the foot service." So saying, he took a knife from his pocket, and, with his own hand, cut asunder the skin without the small-

est shrink or emotion, and delivered his leg to one of his companions to bury it. Being recovered of his wound, he was aftewards actually made a trooper, and always behaved with great fidelity and courage. This battle was fought at Aberdeen upon the 12th of September 1644. Montrose, having called back his men to their colours, entered the city, * and allowed them two days rest to refresh themselves.

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* September 14.

CHAP. VII.

Montrose not supported by proper supplies; occasioned partly by the Marquis of Huntly.—Obliged to retire into Badenoch.—Falls sick.—His sickness affords great joy to the covenanters.—Returns by a circuit into the north country.—Surprised by Argyle and Lothian at Fyvie Castle.—Several hot skirmishes ensue.—Makes a safe retreat to Balveny.

In the mean time, news was brought that Argyle was near at hand, with a much greater army than any Montrose had hitherto to deal with; and that the Earl of Lothian was along with him with fifteen hundred horse. He therefore removed from Aberdeen to Kintore, a village about ten miles off; that the Earl of Huntly's friends and dependents of the name of Gordon, and others thereabouts, who were thought to favour the king's side, might have an opportunity to join him. From that place he dispatched Sir William Rollock to Oxford, to acquaint the king of his success hitherto; and to entreat that some supplies might be sent him, either from England, or some other place; for although, indeed, he had already fought twice successfully, yet he was so beset on all sides with so many and such powerful armies, that he was in danger of being overpowered, if timely

succours were not sent him. Nothing, however, gave Montrose so great anxiety, as that none of the Gordons, of whom he had conceived great expectations, had come to join him. Some of them, indeed, testified their inclination to the service; but Huntly, their chieftain, secretly thwarted Montrose, and detained them all at home, either by his example or authority; for, though he was then obliged to skulk in the farthest corner of the island, yet he envied that honour to another, which himself had in vain attempted to acquire; and had prohibited all his clan, even with threatenings, to have any communication with Montrose, or to assist him either with their presence or advice.* When Montrose found that this was the case, he resolved to withdraw his forces into the Highlands, where he knew the enemy's horse, in which their principal strength consisted, would be of no service to them; and as for their foot, he had such confidence in the goodness of his cause and the valour of his men, that he was not much afraid of them, whatever might be their numbers. In order

* It ought to be remembered, that while Montrose was a promoter of the Covenant, he had used great severities towards the opposite party, of which Huntly was one of the chiefs. See Spalding for many particulars, which must have inspired Lord Huntly with irreconcileable hatred to Montrose, and palsied his undoubted loyalty while co-operating with a long established foe.

to equip himself for this march, he hid his cannon in a bog, and parted with all his other heavy baggage; and when he came to the river Spey, encamped near the old castle of Rothiemurchus, with an army, small indeed in number, but brave and in high spirits, being now flushed with victory.

Here he found the Caithness-men, with those from Sutherland, Ross, and Murray, all in arms, on the opposite banks of the Spey; in order to prevent his passing this river, which is the most rapid in Scotland, till such time as Argyle, who was fast following him, might come up and attack him in the rear. Being thus, as it were, besieged by his enemies on all sides, that at least he might be free of their horse, he turned aside into Badenoch, which is a rocky, mountainous country, and quite impassible for horses. Here he fell sick, and was very ill for some days, the news whereof gave the covenanters such immoderate joy, that they gave out he was dead, and appointed a day of public thanksgiving to God for this deliverance. Their ministers were not, on that occasion, wanting in their duty among their people; for they told them as confidently as if they themselves had been of council with the Almighty, that the Lord of Hosts himself had slain Montrose. But their joy was of no long duration; for he soon recovered, and, as if arisen from the dead, terrified his enemies much more than formerly. So soon as he

was able to travel, he returned to Athole. * From thence he dispatched Macdonald into the Highlands with a party, to invite the Highlanders to join him, and to force such as refused. He himself went back to Angus, hoping, by this means, that Argyle and his horse would be so much fatigued with long marches, that they would be obliged to go into winter-quarters; or that, at least, if they still followed him, he would leave them very far behind; for Argyle had all along pursued him so slowly, and at such a distance, that it was apparent he had no mind to try the chance of a battle. † Therefore, passing through Angus, he crossed the Grampian hills, which run in a line from east to west, and divide Scotland into two equal parts, and returned again to the north country. When he imagined he had now left Argyle far enough behind him that he could safely halt a sufficient time to refresh his troops, he went to Strathbogie, in order, at the same time, to meet with the Gordons himself, and, if possible, engage them to join him; but it was all to no purpose; for they were discharged by Huntly's express orders; and as, on the one hand, they durst not incur the displeasure of their chief, so, on the other, their noble and generous spirits could not bear the

* October 4, 1644.

† Vide *Guthrie's Mem.* p. 169 and 172.

imputation of indolence and inactivity; and, therefore, after the example of their chief, they concealed themselves; so that Montrose had no opportunity to speak to them. The Lord Gordon, Huntly's eldest son, a youth of singular worth and accomplishments, was detained by Argyle, who was his uncle by the mother; and the Earl of Aboyne, his second son, was confined in Carlisle, which was then besieged; and Lewis, his other son, as above noticed, had joined the enemy; so that there was not one of Huntly's family under whose authority they could rise or take arms.

Notwithstanding, Montrose kept his head-quarters there a good while; and during that interval, almost every other night, he sent out parties of light foot, for he had few or no horse, who traversed the country for seven, eight, and sometimes ten miles round, and attacked such of the enemy as fell in their way, and never failed to defeat them, and bring them in, man and horse, prisoners. As his men always returned safe and unhurt from these excursions, it is inconceivable what degree of confidence they acquired; in so much that, however inconsiderable their number was, there was nothing, however arduous, which they would hesitate to undertake under his command. At length, giving over all hopes of the Gordons, he left Strathbogie, and marched to the castle of

Fyvie, which he took. * Here he was brought into the most imminent danger, by the false intelligence concerning the enemy's motions given him by his spies, on whom he relied very much: for they had already encamped within two miles of him, when he did not think they had as yet crossed the Grampian hills. Argyle and Lothian had with them two thousand five hundred foot, and twelve hundred horse; whereas he himself had only one thousand five hundred foot, and not above fifty horse; Macdonald having got a detachment of his forces along with him when he was sent to the Highlands. It would have been the greatest madness to have descended into the plain grounds, with so inconsiderable a force; and to have remained in the castle, a place far from being strong or well fortified, he reckoned dishonourable and derogatory to the reputation he had acquired in his late victories. He therefore bethought himself of another course, and drew up his men upon an eminence which overlooked the castle, the sides of which were rough and uneven; and there were besides several dikes and ditches upon it, which had been raised by the farmers as a fence to their inclosures, and made the appearance of a camp. But he had not yet marked out their several stations, when the small body of Huntly's

* October 24, 1644.

men, who had joined him at Strathbogie, deserted, even in the sight of the whole army. On the other hand, the enemy attacked the eminence, and made themselves masters of a considerable part of it; which, had they been able to maintain with the same courage they obtained it, Montrose had been totally ruined; for his men being discouraged by the desertion of the Gordons and the superior number of the enemy, were beginning almost to despair; but he immediately restored them to life and courage by his own presence and example, and by putting them in mind of their former achievements and inherent bravery; and calling with an air of unconcern to one Colonel O'Kyan, a young Irish gentleman, he desired him to go, with such men as were readiest, and drive these fellows out of their ditches, that they might be no more troubled with them. He had often had occasion to see and commend O'Kyan's courage, and he did not at this time fall short of his general's good opinion; for though they were far superior to him in number, and were besides supported by a party of horse, yet he quickly drove them from the ditches, and got possession of some bags of powder, which the enemy in their hurry had left behind them: this was a very seasonable supply; for their powder was now almost spent. And here we must not pass by a remarkable instance of the forwardness and confidence of Montrose's men; one of whom, upon seeing the bags of powder,

cried out, " What ! have they left us no ball ? but it seems we must take them afterwards from these niggardly stewards ;" as if it had been altogether the duty of the enemy to provide them in all the necessaries of war.

In the mean time, seeing that his horse, which were but fifty in all, were in danger, by their situation, of an immediate attack from the enemy, he succoured them timeously by lining them with light musketeers. For the Earl of Lothian had sent five troops of horse against them ; but, before they had come half way over the field which lay betwixt, they were so galled by the shot from our musketeers on the height, that they were forced to wheel about and retire. Montrose's men, now much elated with their success in these two enterprises, could hardly be prevented from making a general assault upon the enemy's whole army ; Montrose thought it prudent to commend, rather than to check, this forward disposition in his men ; only he entreated them to be mindful of their duty, and to wait till he should give the word of command. In the evening, Argyle, having thus failed in his attempt, drew off his men to about two miles distance, and passed the night under arms, without sleeping. But next day, being informed that Montrose laboured under a scarcity both of powder and ball, he brought up his army to the same ground, and appeared resolved to make an assault upon the hill, and beat Montrose out of

his trenches: but in this his heart failed him; and nothing remarkable happened, excepting some light skirmishes between flying parties, while the main bodies of the two armies kept each their ground. In the meantime, Montrose caused melt down into balls what dishes, flaggons, chamber-pots, and other pewter vessels could be got; but even that did not supply the exigency: however, this inconveniency, great as it was, did not much damp the spirits of his soldiers; one of them in particular, always when he fired his musket, which he presumed was never without execution, called out merrily to his comrades, "I have certainly broke one traitor's face with a chamber-pot." And, indeed, it was no wonder if Montrose's men were often in want of powder and other warlike stores, when it is considered that they had no other way of being supplied but by seizing them from the enemy.

The second day being thus near spent, Argyle carried his men again across the river, and retired, by the same road he had come, to the distance of three Scots miles. And thus several days passed at Fyvie in the same manner; Argyle carrying nothing away with so great an army, but disgrace among his friends, and contempt from his enemies; for it was entirely imputed to his want of courage, that he had not risked an engagement there.

At last Montrose took the advantage of the night, and returned to Strathbogie, being afraid, had he

marched in the day-time, that his rear might be harassed in his march by the enemy's horse. He intended to stop there for some time, both because the rough and uneven face of the country was a good security to his men from the incursions of the enemy's cavalry, and because it was near those parts of the Highlands from which he daily expected Macdonald, with what Highlanders he could raise. Next day the enemy followed him, with an intention to force him to an engagement in the open fields. So soon as they came in sight, their men were drawn out in order of battle, as if they had been to fall on immediately with their whole force; however, Argyle first sent out some Highlanders to skirmish with Montrose, but they were manfully received and repulsed; whereby Montrose had an opportunity to take possession of the most advantageous ground. This induced Argyle to alter his resolution, and think of other measures, which, though safer, were far more dishonourable. He proposed a cessation in order to have a conference together, and that engagements should be given on both sides for their mutual security; but, at the same time, he begun to tamper with Montrose's men, and not only to tempt their fidelity, by offering them an indemnity and high rewards if they would desert him, but he also promised a considerable sum to any person who should bring him Montrose's head.

Montrose, who was well acquainted with Argyle,

and knew that his disposition was better calculated to overreach and betray his enemy, than to carry on a fair and open war, so soon as he understood his designs, thought that nothing concerned him more, than, with all expedition, to withdraw his small army, as far as he could, both from the enemy's horse, and out of the reach of Argyle's knavery. He, therefore, called a council of war, and told them what he thought proper to be done; they all approved the motion, and promised to continue their fidelity, and their best endeavours to serve him. In consequence thereof, he resolved upon a long march the very next night, as far as Badenoch; and that his army might be the more expeditious for a march of that difficulty, he sent off his heavy baggage before him under a guard, and ordered his men to hold themselves in readiness as if they were to fight the next day. After he had dispatched the carriages and heavy baggage, it was suddenly told him, that Forbes of Craigievar, his prisoner, whom he had allowed to live at large in the camp upon his parole, and Sibbald, who, besides Sir William Rollock, was the only person to whom he had communicated his designs, and made his companion in his journey from England, and several others, had deserted to the enemy. This treachery gave Montrose a good deal of uneasiness; he justly suspected, that, in order to ingratiate themselves with the enemy, they would undoubtedly give them intelligence of his

intended motions; he immediately, therefore, called back his carriages, and seemed to have altered his resolution entirely. However, he still resolved to prosecute his march, only he thought it necessary to delay it for some time, that the enemy might have reason to disbelieve the intelligence they would receive from his deserters. At last, after waiting four days, he again sent off his baggage, and, lighting fires through all the camp, stationed his horse in the rear, just in view of the enemy, as if they were upon guard, and immediately marched off his foot; so soon as they were out of danger, he brought off his horse safe likewise, and the whole army arrived about break of day at Balveny. When he found he was now beyond the reach of the enemy's horse, and that they did not pursue him farther, as it was now the midst of winter, he allowed his men a few days to refresh themselves.

The effects of Argyle's craft and secret artifices begun now to appear; for most of the nobility, gentry, and experienced officers who were with Montrose, (for, excepting among the Irish and Scots Highlanders, he had more officers than private men,) relying upon the conditions offered by Argyle, went over to his side. Some of them pretended want of health, others alleged that they were unable to undergo the fatigue of such constant and long marches, in the midst of winter, over wild uninhabited mountains, which were im-

passable for rocks and thickets, and always covered with snow; and that it was most unwillingly, and only through absolute necessity, that they begged to be dismissed. He readily granted leave to every man who asked it; but it was rather with an air of indignation and scorn, than of indulgence or approbation.

And indeed he foresaw, and soon felt the consequences of their deserting him, for it weakened his forces considerably, and disheartened many who intended to have joined him. Of all the low-country men, Ogilvy, Earl of Airly, though then sixty years of age, and very sickly, and his two sons, Sir Thomas and Sir David, sons indeed worthy of such a father, only remained with him, nor could they be prevailed upon, even with the utmost hazard of their lives, ever to leave him.

CHAP. VIII.

Montrose marches into Argyleshire; lays waste and destroys all that country; marches northwards; is opposed by Seaforth; returns, and defeats Argyle at Inverlochy; Sir Thomas Ogilvy, son to the Earl of Airly, killed.

From Balveny, Montrose set out for Badenoch; upon his arrival there, he received certain intelligence that Argyle was lying at Dunkeld with his infantry only, having sent his horse to winter-quarters; and that he was employing all his artifice in soliciting the Athole-men to desert him. Though Montrose was pretty confident of the fidelity and constancy of the Athole-men, he, nevertheless, marched down to Athole with incredible expedition; for in one night he travelled with his army no less than twenty-four miles, through a wild uninhabited country, by unbeaten tracts, and almost impassable for rocks and depth of snow; intending to fall upon Argyle, while he had no horse along with him. However, Argyle did not wait his coming; for, being terrified even with the news of his approach, and while as yet he was sixteen miles distant, he desired his men to shift for themselves; and he himself fled straight to Perth, where the covenanters had a strong garrison.

By this time Macdonald was returned from the Highlands, and had brought along with him the Captain of Clanronald and five hundred of his men; to these Montrose joined Patrick Graham, and a select number of the Athole-men; and with this army marched to Loch-Tay, intending to pass through Breadalbane into the shire of Argyle; being convinced that he could not attack an enemy any where more successfully than in his own country. He had, besides, many powerful reasons to induce him to this resolution; for Argyle's power and authority among the Highlanders was such, as rendered him formidable to all the neighbouring gentlemen and their dependents; and he had thereby contributed much both to raise and foment the rebellion from the beginning; for whenever any of them ventured to oppose the covenanters, or dispute their unreasonable commands, Argyle immediately fell upon them with a tumultuous army of five or six thousand Highlanders, whom, too, he forced out for these purposes much against their inclinations, and utterly ruined their fortunes and estates. He judged it therefore necessary at any rate to reduce the power of such a seditious, cruel, and avaricious tyrant. Besides, these Highlanders who had a warm side to the king's cause, though they hated Argyle mortally, yet having had sufficient experience of his oppression, durst make no appearance till he should be once subdued. And lastly, as the covenanters were in possession of all

the low country, and had strong garrisons and great bodies of horse dispersed every where through it, Montrose had no where else to dispose of his troops for their winter-quarters, unless he had a mind utterly to cut up and ruin his own friends. For these reasons, he led his army into Argyleshire with surprising celerity, and by very long and very difficult marches.

Argyle had then returned home to raise some new recruits, and had appointed the day and place of their rendezvous. He was living secure in his castle of Inveraray, not imagining that the enemy was within a hundred miles of him; for, till now, he could never be induced to believe that an army could penetrate into Argyle, even in the midst of summer; and used to boast, that he had rather lose a hundred thousand crowns than that any mortal should know the passes by which an armed force could penetrate into his country. When he therefore suspected nothing less, the shepherds came down in a panic from the hills, and informed him that the enemy were not two miles distant. Uncertain what course to take, and almost dead with fear by this unexpected alarm, he went on board a fishing-boat, and consulted his own safety by flight; abandoning his friends and followers, and the whole country, to their own fortune and the mercy of the enemy. The shire of Argyle is a rough mountainous country, and produces little or no corn; but is extremely proper for breeding

cattle, in which chiefly consist the riches of the inhabitants. Montrose divided his army into three parties; he gave the command of one to the Captain of Clanronald, of another to Macdonald, and the third he commanded himself; and sent them out to range the country, and plunder and destroy wherever they came. They spared none that were fit to carry arms, and, in particular, they put to the sword all the men whom they met going in arms to the rendezvous appointed by Argyle; nor did they desist till they had driven all the men who were fit for service out of the country, or at least obliged them to retire to lurking holes known to none but themselves. They drove all their cattle, and burnt down their villages and cottages to the ground; thus retaliating upon Argyle the treatment he had given to others, he himself being the first who had practised this cruel method of waging war against the innocent country people by fire and devastation. Nor did they deal more gently with the people of Lorn, and the neighbouring parts who acknowledged Argyle's authority. Thus they were employed from about the 13th of December 1644, till near the end of January.

Montrose ever afterwards acknowledged, that he had never experienced the singular providence and goodness of God in a more remarkable manner than at this time, in bringing him and his men safe out of these parts; for, had only two hundred men possessed the narrow passes, and defended

them courageously, they might either have entirely destroyed his whole army, or at least have easily prevented their retreat; or if the cowherds had only driven away their cattle out of their reach, which might easily have been done, they must undoubtedly have perished for hunger in that barren country; or, had the winter proved as severe and stormy as is usual every year in that country, they must either have been drowned in the snow, or frozen to death with the cold. But God had, at the same time, deprived his enemies of all resolution and courage, and the season of its usual rigour; and the barrenness of the country in other respects was sufficiently compensated by the greatest abundance of cattle.

Having left the country of Argyle, and gone through Lorn, Glenco, and Lochaber, he at length came to Lochness. And now he laid his account, that the Highlanders, being either terrified by the treatment he had given Argyle, or being now delivered from the apprehensions of his tyranny, would all be ready to join him in defence of the king's righteous cause against the rebels.

But now, lest his invincible spirit should ever want sufficient employment, he received intelligence that the Earl of Seaforth, a man of the greatest power in these parts, and of whom he had all along entertained great expectations, was coming against him with an army of five thousand horse and foot; consisting of the garrison of In-

verness, who were all veterans, and the strength of the shires of Murray, Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness, and the clan of the Frasers. Montrose had only fifteen hundred men; for the men of Clanronald, and most of the Athole-men, had obtained leave to go home, laden with the booty from Argyleshire, on their promise to return so soon as they were again called for, as he did not suspect he would meet with such opposition, or would have such immediate occasion for them. However, with this handful of men, he made no difficulty to encounter Seaforth's disorderly army; for, though he knew that the Inverness garrison were veteran soldiers, yet the rest of the army were but new levied men, and consisted mostly of husbandmen, cowherds, servants, and such like, and were altogether raw and unfit for service.

When he had resolved and was preparing to fight them, a trusty messenger came up to him, and informed him that Argyle had fallen down into Lochaber with three thousand foot, which were composed of some forces he had got from the low-country, and such of the Highlanders as yet adhered to him; and was then at the old castle of Inverlochy. Montrose, who knew Argyle's crafty but cowardly disposition, easily conjectured what was his design, and that he intended to follow him at a considerable distance, till he had once engaged with this north country army, and then to come up and reap the advantage of that battle; but that

he would at no rate fight himself if he could help it. He, therefore, thought it would prove a matter of far greater importance, and at the same time of less danger, if he could attack Argyle, and shew that he could be defeated even in the Highlands, where he was revered, by the ignorant country people, like a god; and if he succeeded, he was convinced that Seaforth's army, terrified with the report of a victory obtained over Argyle, would easily be reduced and brought to order.

Montrose, who was then thirty miles from Inverlochy, did not keep the common beaten road; however, he placed guards upon it, to prevent any intelligence being carried to the enemy, but went straight over the mountains of Lochaber, which no army had ever before attempted, being reckoned quite impassable, and unknown to every body but the shepherds and the huntsmen, who frequented them for sake of the deer, of which there are great herds in these mountains. Having killed the scouts whom the enemy had sent out, he was upon them before they were aware. However, they were not so much disconcerted with this unexpected visit as might have been thought; but immediately run to their arms, and prepared to receive his attack. When Montrose saw that they were ready to receive him, he stopt a little till his rear, which had fallen behind through the fatigue and difficulty of the march, should come up with the rest. By this time night came on, but the moon shone so clear,

that it was almost as light as day; they lay upon their arms the whole night, and, with the assistance of the faint light they had, harassed each other with slight sallies and skirmishes, so that neither gave the other time to repose. They all earnestly wished for day, only Argyle, more intent on his own safety, conveyed himself away about the middle of the night, and, having very opportunely got a boat, escaped the hazard of the battle, choosing rather to be a spectator of the prowess of his men, than share in the danger himself. At break of day, which was the second of February, and Candlemas-day, Montrose drew out his men in order of battle, and the enemy were equally alert in doing the same; for, as the prisoners afterwards acknowledged, they did not imagine that Montrose himself was present, but only one of his principal officers, with a part of his forces.

At length, about sunrise, Montrose's trumpets sounding, gave the enemy no small alarm; for, besides that it was the signal of the horse, which made them believe there were some troops of horse along with them, a very extraordinary thing in these parts; they were thereby likewise convinced that Montrose commanded in person. Nevertheless, the chiefs of the Campbells, (that is, the surname of Argyle's family and clan,) who were, indeed, a set of very brave men, and worthy of a better chieftain and a better cause, begun the battle with very great courage. But their first rank having dis-

charged their muskets only once, Montrose's men fell in upon them furiously sword in hand, with a great shout, and advanced with such impetuosity, that they soon routed the whole army, and put them to flight, and pursued them for about nine miles, making a dreadful slaughter all the way. There were fifteen hundred of the enemy slain, among whom were several gentlemen of distinction of the name of Campbell, who led on the clan, and fell in the field of battle, fighting rather too gallantly for the honour of their dastardly chieftain. Montrose, though an enemy, pitied their fate, and used his authority to save and give quarter to as many as he could. In the meantime, Argyle himself, who had got into his boat, rowed a little way off the shore, and looked on securely, at a distance, and saw his men thus routed and slain. Some officers whom Argyle had brought with him from the low-country, retired into the castle ; and when the castle was surrendered, Montrose received them very kindly, and gave them their liberty, dismissing them with several marks of his humanity and liberality.

Montrose had several wounded in this battle, but he had none killed excepting three private men. However, the joy of this eminent victory was much abated by the death of that worthy man Sir Thomas Ogilvy, son to the Earl of Airly, who died a few days after of the wounds he had received in the field. He had behaved very well in the

king's service in England, under the command of his father-in-law, General Ruthven, Earl of Forth and Brentford; a man remarkable over all the world for his noble achievements, and, from the beginning of the Scots war, he had adhered close to Montrose, by whom he was in a particular manner beloved. Besides his reputation in a military capacity, he was likewise well versed in the sciences, and was in every respect an additional honour and grace to the ancient family of the Ogilvies. As he was a main instrument in obtaining the victory, his death was answerable to the great character he had acquired, thus falling in the defence of his king and country. Montrose, who was very much afflicted by this loss, ordered his body to be carried to Athole, and there interred in the most magnificent manner that the circumstances of the time and place could afford.

The power and influence of the Campbells in the Highlands, which for many ages had been formidable to all their neighbours, was by this overthrow entirely broke; and Montrose had now the prospect of executing his designs more easily for the future; for the Highlanders, who are a very warlike set of people, being now delivered from the hateful oppression and tyranny of Argyle, began directly to offer themselves most willingly for his majesty's service.

CHAP. IX.

Montrose takes the town of Elgin.—Is attacked by Colonel Urry, whom he puts to flight.—Offers battle to Baillie and Urry.—Deserted by Lewis Gordon, and the most of that clan.—Obliged on that account to retire north.—In his way he seizes Dundee.—Makes a surprising and safe retreat before the covenanters' army.

The Marquis of Montrose, having allowed his men some days to refresh themselves, after the immense fatigue they had undergone, returned again over the mountains of Lochaber, and came to Lochness. From thence, passing through Strath-erri-gig, Strathnairn, and Stratherin, he came to the river Spey. There he was told, that a considerable body of the enemy was lying at Elgin, which is the chief town of the shire of Murray, a country that lies beyond the Spey. Montrose marched directly up to them, in order either to draw them over to his side, or to suppress them by force of arms; but the very news of his approach dispersed this little cloud, and they retired to their lurking-holes in great terror. However, he continued his march, and, upon the 14th of February, had the town of Elgin surrendered to him by the inhabitants.

At this time the Lord Gordon, eldest son to the Marquis of Huntly, who, for his excellent endowments, deserves the highest commendations, left his uncle Argyle, by whom he had been detained all along contrary to his inclinations, and openly espoused the king's side, frankly offering his service to Montrose as the king's deputy and general. He brought with him not many followers; but these he had were all his choice friends and vassals. Montrose received him with the utmost civility, and returned him thanks for his offers; but when he came afterwards to know him more thoroughly, and had experienced his honour and fidelity, he entered into the greatest familiarity and friendship with him.

As most of the inhabitants of the shire of Murray were extremely addicted to the covenanters, so that, on Montrose's coming among them, they had withdrawn and concealed themselves, he had no grounds to expect any assistance from a people so averse to his interest; he therefore brought his forces over the Spey, in order to raise the people of the shires of Banff and Aberdeen, if the presence, the example, or the authority of Lord Gordon could have any influence with them; and having levied what forces he could in these parts, he proceeded, with an army of two thousand foot, and two hundred horse; and having crossed the river Dee, and passed the Grampian hills, came into the shire of Mearns, and encamp-

ed not far from Fettercairn. A body of the covenanters lay at Brechin, about seven miles distant, commanded by Sir John Urry, colonel of a regiment of horse, who had the character of a very brave and gallant officer. He came out with six hundred horse to reconnoitre Montrose's strength; and as he imagined that Montrose had but few foot, and no horse at all, he expected that, if he should come down into the plain ground, he would be able to give a good account of him; and at any rate he was confident that he would make a safe retreat with his horse. Montrose, to deceive him and draw him on, having stationed his foot in a low valley out of sight, exposed to his view only two hundred horse; but these he had as usual lined with his most active musketeers. Urry seeing their numbers so small, immediately led on his men to the charge, but when too late, observing Montrose's foot, who followed briskly at the horses' heels, he caused sound a retreat; and, that it might be the more orderly, posted himself in the rear, where he behaved with great bravery. However, Montrose's men pursued them with great eagerness till they crossed the river Esk; and even then they did not reckon themselves out of danger, though sheltered by the darkness of the night, but run with the utmost precipitation for twenty-four miles, till they came to Dundee. The party who pursued them returned that night to Fettercairn, and next day the whole army march-

ed to Brechin. Here Montrose was informed that Baillie,* who bore the character of a very good general, had been called from England by the covenanters, and had got the chief command of their forces; and that Urry had joined him with his horse, and that, besides these, he had got several old troops, which had been recalled both from England and Ireland. So that the covenanters seemed now resolved to carry on the war with greater earnestness and vigour, and that henceforth he would have to do with another kind of army, and with more expert generals.

Wherefore, to prevent his being hemmed in by

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* General Baillie was a natural son of Sir William Baillie of Lamington, by a Mrs Home, and born in the lifetime of Sir William's wife, Margaret Maxwell, Countess of Angus. He married Mrs Home after the death of Lady Angus, in order to legitimate his son, but this proved ineffectual; young Baillie went to Sweden, served under Gustavus Adolphus, and was called into Scotland by the covenanters, 1638. *Nisb. Her.* II. 138. His two sons married the daughters of George, first Lord Forrester of Corstorphine, whose patent of nobility extended, as it was said, to the husbands and children of these ladies successively. James Baillie, the second Lord Forrester, was murdered by his wife's niece, leaving no male issue of his first marriage; his brother, the third Lord, did not assume the title, which was long disputed in the person of his son, William fourth Lord Forrester, who finally, in the year 1698, presented to the Parliament of Scotland the patent in favour of the deceased James Lord Forrester and his heirs, requesting that it might be recorded, which was accordingly done.

the enemy's horse, in which they were always superior, he kept upon the most advantageous ground, and marched towards the river Tay by the foot of the Grampian hills, intending, if possible, to get over the Forth, where he expected numbers would join him for the king's interest. But the enemy suspected his design, and sent these commanders with a very strong army against him to prevent it. So soon as they came in sight, Montrose offered them battle, but they had no intention to try the fate of an engagement, and did not even so much as disturb his rear as he marched off. He went that night to the castle of Innerquharity, and next day to the village of Alyth. Here again he fell down into the low-country, leaving the mountains at a considerable distance behind him, and sent a trumpet to Baillie with a challenge to fight him. The river Isla ran betwixt the two armies, and neither party could pass it safely, if the other opposed their passage; he therefore desired that he would allow him quietly to pass the river, but if he did not chuse that, that he would allow Baillie to pass it safely, on condition that he would engage his honour to fight without farther delay. Baillie returned for answer, that he would mind his own business himself, and would fight by no man's direction, but at his own pleasure.

Thus Montrose passed several days in sight of the enemy, without either attempting to cross the river, in order to attack him, or his having any

hope of forcing his passage over to them, for want of a body of horse. He therefore went forward to Dunkeld, intending to cross the Tay; when an unexpected misfortune happened him, by which he was almost entirely ruined. Lewis Gordon, son to the Marquis of Huntly, who had fought against Montrose in the battle at Aberdeen, had, some little time before, through the mediation of his noble and worthy brother the Lord Gordon, been received into favour with Montrose, and had joined him. He, by means of some letters, which he either pretended he had received from his father the marquis, or which were really wrote by him from his concealment, prevailed upon almost all the Gordons to desert, and actually carried them off without his brother's knowledge; leaving Montrose and him in the most imminent danger from the enemy, who were then near at hand: and truly it is doubtful, to which of the two, Montrose or his brother, he bore the greatest enmity.

Montrose was very much disconcerted by this unexpected revolt, which made it absolutely necessary for him to return to the north country in order to recruit his forces. However, he did not seem to alter his intended march to the Forth; and this caution seemed to have the desired effect, for his spies all agreed, that the enemy to a man had crossed the Tay, and gone to take possession of the fords upon the Forth, in order to prevent

his passage. Accordingly, he prepared for his march northwards; but, that he might not seem to have done nothing of moment all this while, he thought it would be a piece of good service, if, by the way, he could take in the town of Dundee; which was a most seditious place, and a faithful receptacle to the rebels in these parts, having contributed as much as any other town in the kingdom to carry on the rebellion; and was kept, at that time, by no other garrison than the inhabitants. He sent his weaker troops, and those who were but lightly armed, together with his heavy baggage, in by the foot of the hills, and ordered them to meet him at Brechin; and he himself, with what horse he had, which were in all but a hundred and fifty, and six hundred light musketeers, set out from Dunkeld about midnight, and made such expedition, that he came to Dundee by ten o'clock in the morning, on the 4th of April. He immediately summoned the townsmen, if they consulted their own safety and that of the town, to surrender; but if they refused, he threatened them with fire and sword. They spent some time without returning any answer, and at last they put the trumpeter in prison. Montrose, highly provoked with this affront, stormed the town in three different quarters at once. The townsmen endeavoured for some time to oppose them; but the Irishmen and the Highlanders made their assault with such fury, that they quickly drove

them from their stations, and making themselves masters of their cannon, turned them against the town. At the same time some of them broke open the gates, and took possession both of the church and the market-place, while others set the town in fire in several places; and had not the common men, by an unseasonable greed of plunder and desire of strong liquors, immediately fallen to pillage and drink, this opulent town had undoubtedly been soon burnt to the ground. This very thing, however, contributed to save the conquerors no less than the vanquished; for it happened that the information given by the spies, of the enemy's having crossed the Tay, was altogether false; they had, indeed, seen a few troops cross the river, which they apprehended was the whole army; and by this mistake had well nigh ruined themselves and their own army. Montrose was standing upon the hill which overlooks Dundee, beholding the skirmish, when his scouts came, in the greatest consternation, and informed him, that Baillie and Urry were not above a mile distant, with three thousand foot and eight hundred horse. He immediately called his men off from the town, but not without the greatest difficulty; for, imagining themselves now masters of the town, and being a little heated with liquor, and much taken with the hopes of the rich booty, which they already counted all their own, they could hardly be persuaded to leave it; and before they

were actually all brought off, the enemy were within gunshot of the last of them. Montrose's council, as almost always happens in critical conjunctures, were of various opinions. Some of them advised him to consult his own safety, and to go off with his horse; for, that it would not be possible to bring off the foot, who, after being sufficiently tired with a march of upwards of twenty-four miles in the morning, were afterwards quite spent with the fatigue of the engagement through the day, and were now loaded with plunder or oppressed with drink; besides, that they behoved to march twenty, and perhaps thirty miles from Dundee, before they could safely stop. This, they said, was the chance of war, and to be borne with courage, especially as he himself had often given the enemy much greater overthrows; and that there was no doubt, if he were only preserved, but he would soon recruit his forces; whereas, should any misfortune befall him, the case would then be desperate, and the king's affairs utterly ruined. Others exclaimed, that as all was now lost, nothing remained but that they should fall honourably; that they should therefore rush in upon the thickest of the enemy, and sell their lives as dear as they could. Montrose concurred with neither of these opinions; he could not prevail with himself to desert such brave men in the most imminent danger; and preferred an honourable death, in the company of his own men, to his own personal safe-

ty, when purchased by such a disgraceful conduct. On the other hand, for a number so unequal to rush upon the enemy, and, as it were, dash their heads against a stone, was the last remedy, and not to be used rashly. And as God ought not to be tempted by cowardice or neglect, so neither should his assistance be despaired of by good Christians and men of courage, in a good cause. He therefore exhorted every man to do his duty, and to remit the management to his conduct, and the event to God.

Accordingly, he first sent off four hundred foot, and ordered them to march with all the speed they possibly could, without breaking their ranks. He then appointed two hundred of his most active and swiftest men to follow them; and he himself, with the horse, brought up the rear; but he caused them march with their ranks so wide, as to receive the light musketeers, if there was need. Having thus ordered his march, he did not believe the enemy's foot could overtake him; and should their horse alone come up and attack him, which he scarce thought they would venture upon, he expected to be able to cope with them: and it being now near sunset, the darkness of the night would immediately favour their retreat. The enemy having been informed by some prisoners they had taken, and having it confirmed by their own view, that Montrose was setting out upon a march, and not to try an engagement, divided their forces into

two bodies, and pursued him. Their design was, not only that they might attack him at once, both in the rear and flank, but likewise to occupy the passes, and prevent his getting up to the Highlands; and, to encourage their men the more eagerly to the pursuit, the general set a price of 20,000 crowns upon Montrose's head. By this time the foremost of their horse were up with his rear; but these excellent musketeers, who were mixed with his horse, brought down three of the most forward, one after another; and the rest becoming more cautious by their fate, they slackened much of the eagerness of their pursuit. When Montrose's men perceived that they had got the start of the enemy's foot in the march, they recovered their strength and courage, and turning upon their horse, skirmished stoutly with them till night parted them. In order, by any means, to elude the enemy, they marched several miles eastward, by the sea-coast; though they did not intend to proceed that road, but to go northward to the Grampian hills, that they might be relieved from the enemy's horse, which were so troublesome to them; but Baillie had laid the greatest part of his army betwixt them and the Grampians, to prevent their retreat. Therefore, about midnight, when they were not far from Aberbrothock, he ordered his men to halt a little; and suspecting, that all the roads and passes which led straight to the hills would probably be intercepted by the

enemy's horse, in which, indeed, he was not mistaken, he bent his march to the north-west, and went on with all expedition; and by this means, though with incredible fatigue, eluded his pursuers; and having passed by them that very night, he immediately turned to the north, and next morning at sun rising, crossed the river of South-esk, not far from the castle of Carrestoun. From thence he sent to Brechin for the party which he had sent off with his baggage; but upon the first notice of this expedition, they had taken a safer rout, and gone up to the hills. While he stayed at Carrestoun, his spies brought in word that the enemy's horse were already within sight, and that their foot, being refreshed with meat and sleep, were fast following them. He was not now much afraid of them, being within three miles of the Highlands; but his men, who had already passed three days and two nights without sleeping, and had all that time been employed either in marching or fighting, had fallen so dead asleep, that they could hardly be awakened by any means. The enemy being at last diverted by a slight skirmish, suffered him to take possession of the foot of the hills; and, after all their trouble, returned from this fruitless pursuit; and he and his army went up to Glenesk.

This is that memorable march from Dundee, which, through the mistake of the spies, had almost proved fatal to the whole army; but by the inimi-

table conduct of the general, and his undaunted constancy and presence of mind in the greatest danger, can be paralleled by few. The resolution and hardiness of his men, in undergoing the greatest fatigue, was likewise surprising; for they marched about sixty miles, during which time they were often engaged with the enemy, and continued constantly upon their march, without provisions, without sleep, and without the smallest intermission, or refreshment of any kind. Whether these things will gain credit abroad, or with after ages, I cannot pretend to say; but I am certain that this narration is taken from the best information, and the most credible evidence. And truly I have often heard those who were esteemed the most experienced officers, not in Britain only, but in France and Germany, prefer this march of Montrose to his most celebrated victories.

CHAP. X.

Montrose returns to Crieff;—is attacked by Baillie, but secures his retreat.—Follows Urry, and obliges him to retire to Inverness.—The battle of Aulderne, in which Urry is defeated.

The Marquis of Montrose, having thus made good his retreat beyond all expectation, gave his men some time to rest, and in the mean time resolved on the following measures for prosecuting the war. He sent Lord Gordon away to his own country, with such of his men as had continued loyal and faithful after his brother Lewis's revolt, in order to bring back those whom his brother had seduced, and likewise to increase his forces by some new recruits. This he executed with the greatest resolution and cheerfulness, sparing none who had the least concern in the villany; and in particular, exercising a just severity on such as had been either the advisers or promoters of his brother's desertion; in which he was the more active, that he might acquit himself of all suspicion of having had a hand in it; and, indeed, neither Montrose, nor any other person, could detest the treachery of his brother more heartily than Lord Gordon himself did. At the same time Montrose, in

order to make a diversion in these parts, and thereby distract the enemy, till such time as he had got his forces together and recruited his army, marched through Angus into Perthshire, with a small party, having retained with himself no more than five hundred foot and fifty horse. This appeared afterwards to be extremely well judged; for the covenanters had sent Colonel Urry with a command of six hundred foot, all old troops, and two hundred horse, to support their own party and suppress Lord Gordon; and Baillie himself staid with an army at Perth, as in the heart of the kingdom, ready to act as occasion required. Montrose was come the length of Crieff, a village about twelve miles distant from Perth, where Baillie was informed that he lay very securely with a small party; and, being careful to catch every opportunity, he set out from Perth in the beginning of the night, with his whole army, and marched with great expedition, thinking by break of day to surprise Montrose in his quarters; but he found Montrose was not so indolent as he expected, for he was fully upon his guard, and had his foot drawn up under arms, and ready either for an engagement or a march. He himself, upon notice of their approach, advanced with his horse to discover the strength and numbers of the enemy; and finding they were two thousand foot and five hundred horse, he ordered his men to march off with all speed, and, keeping along Stratherne, to occupy

the passes leading into it. He staid behind with the few horse he had, and guarded the rear, to prevent their being harassed in their march by the enemy's horse; and, indeed, they made a very fierce assault; but he received them so warmly, that they were put in disorder, and obliged to retire with the loss of several of their men. His foot, in the mean time, after a march of six miles, made themselves masters of the pass of Stratherne; so that the enemy were obliged to return without any success. Montrose lay that night, which was the 18th of April, at Locherne, and marched next day to Balquhidder, where he was met by the Earl of Aboyne, and some others, who, encouraged by the accounts of Montrose's success in Scotland, had made their escape from Carlisle, and at last returned to their own country.

From Balquhidder they advanced to Loch-Katrine, where they received intelligence that Urry had raised a considerable force in the north, and was ready to fall upon the Lord Gordon. Montrose was justly afraid that Urry, who was a very active and experienced officer, would, by his superior skill and strength, easily overpower this gallant young nobleman; he therefore thought it absolutely necessary to oppose Urry as soon as possible, both to secure his friend from such imminent danger, and that he might attack the enemy while they were divided into separate bodies, and thus cut them off by degrees, as he very well knew they

would be by far an overmatch for him were they all united. Accordingly, he set forward by very long continued marches, passing through Balquhidder, and up the side of Loch-Tay, which is twenty-four miles long, and from whence the river Tay takes its rise, and so through Athole and Angus; then crossing the Grampian hills, and going through the Strath of Glenmuck, he came into the heart of Mar, where Lord Gordon joined him with a thousand foot and two hundred horse; from thence he went directly to the Spey to find out the enemy, and, if possible, to force them to an engagement; and had come within six miles of them when Urry did not imagine he had as yet crossed the Grampian hills; for he had gone on with such amazing rapidity as to anticipate all accounts of his motions. When Urry found him so near, that he might not be obliged to fight before he got a considerable reinforcement of new auxiliaries, which he was expecting, he crossed the Spey in all haste, and as he had appointed Inverness for the place of rendezvous for all his forces, he marched to Elgin in his road thither; however, Montrose was not long in coming up to Elgin after him. From thence he made all haste to Forres; but Montrose overtook him there likewise, and pursued him so close for fourteen miles together, that, even with the favour of the night, he had much ado to reach Inverness.

Next day Montrose encamped at the village of Aulderne. And Urry, when he came to Inverness, found, according to his expectation, the Earls of Seaforth and Sutherland, the clan of the Frasers, and several from the shires of Murray and Caithness, all convened in arms to the rendezvous which he had appointed there. To these he added some veterans that were in the garrison of Inverness; and with this army, which now consisted of three thousand five hundred foot, and four hundred horse, he marched up directly to Montrose: but as Montrose's army was far inferior, and consisted of no more than fifteen hundred foot, and two hundred and fifty horse, he had a much greater mind to retire than risk an engagement with such inequality. But Urry pressed him so hard, that there was scarce a possibility of a safe retreat; and Baillie, with his south-country army, which was yet stronger than Urry's, and more formidable on account of his horse, was now advanced a great way on that side the Grampian hills, and was marching with all expedition to the Spey; so that Montrose was reduced to this dilemma, either immediately to give Urry battle upon very unequal terms, or run the greater risk of being hemmed in betwixt two armies. He resolved, therefore, to try the fortune of war without delay, and to commit the success to God; and immediately set about chusing the most advantageous ground, and there to wait the enemy. The village stood upon a height, and covered the

neighbouring valley; behind there were some little eminences, which overtopped it, and obscured the view, so as things could not be distinctly observed, unless by standing very near. In this valley he drew up his forces, entirely out of the view of the enemy: he placed a few chosen foot, along with his cannon, before the village, where they were covered by some dikes that had been cast up there. On his right wing he placed Alexander Macdonald and four hundred foot, and stationed them in a place which was accidentally fortified with dikes and ditches, and was also beset with bushes and stones; and ordered them in all events to preserve themselves entire, and on no account to leave their station, which was naturally so well fortified, that they were quite secure from any attack, not only of the enemy's horse, but even of their foot. At the same time, he very prudently gave them the charge of the remarkable royal standard, which used to be carried only before himself, imagining that the enemy, upon seeing it, would send their best forces against that wing, where, by the disadvantage of the ground, they could be of no service; by which means he would have an opportunity of making a successful attack from the left. In this view he carried all the rest of his men to the opposite wing, putting the horse under the command of Lord Gordon; and the foot he took the charge of himself. By this disposition of his men he had in effect no main army; but that small

body which he had stationed before the town, under covert of the dikes, made a shew of one. And as for a reserve, there was no room to think of it, when his numbers were so small.

The enemy, as Montrose had happily conjectured, so soon as they observed the royal standard, immediately dispatched the best part of their horse, with their veteran troops, in which their principal strength consisted, towards that quarter, and begun their attack both upon the right wing, and upon that party which was stationed before the town; and constantly, as their men were fatigued, they relieved them by fresh troops. Montrose could not take this course, having so few men, and therefore resolved to make a general assault upon the enemy, with all the troops which he had upon the left wing. Just as he had taken this resolution, a person, whose prudence and fidelity he could rely upon, came and whispered in his ear, that Macdonald and his party on the right wing were put to flight. This did not at all disconcert him, and, from abundance of presence of mind, to prevent his soldiers from being discouraged upon hearing of this bad news, he called out to Lord Gordon, "What are we doing, my dear lord? Our friend Macdonald has routed the enemy on the right, and is carrying all before him. Shall we look on, and let him carry off the whole honour of the day?" With these words he instantly led on the charge. Urry's horse could not long with-

stand the shock of the Gordons, but immediately wheeled about and fled, leaving the flanks of their army quite open and exposed. The foot, though they were deserted by the horse, being superior in numbers, and better armed than Montrose's men, stood it very bravely while they were at any distance; but coming at length to close combat, sword in hand, they were forced to throw away their arms, and betake themselves to their heels. This success did not make Montrose forget the information he had received concerning the condition of the right wing, and he immediately hasted thither with such men as he could get readiest, where, indeed, he found things in a very different situation from what they were on the left, where he was himself. Macdonald, who was a brave enough man, but rather a better soldier than a general, extremely violent, and daring even to rashness, being provoked with the scoffs and insults of the enemy, disdained to shelter himself behind the dikes and bushes, and, contrary to his express orders, drew out his men from this defensible station, where he was out of all danger, and faced the enemy; but he did it to his cost, for the enemy, who were far superior to him, both by their horse and their numbers, and many of them, too, old experienced soldiers, soon put his men in disorder, and beat them back in great confusion; and, had he not speedily drawn them off to an inclosure hard by, they had every man of them been lost, together with the

royal standard. However, he made sufficient amends for this rash mistake, by the admirable courage he displayed in bringing off his men; for he himself was the last man that came off the field, and, defending his body with a large target, he opposed himself to the thickest of the enemy, and thus alone covered the retreat of his men; during which, some spearmen came so near him as to fix their spears in his target, which he cut off with his broad sword by threes and fours at a stroke. When this party, with whom he was engaged in the inclosure, saw Montrose coming to his assistance, and perceived that their own men on the left were fled, the horse immediately run off; but the foot, who were mostly old Irish soldiers, fought desperately, and fell almost every man in his rank where he stood. The victors followed the chace for some miles. There were slain of the enemy about three thousand foot, among whom the veteran soldiers fought very bravely; but almost all their horse escaped, by a more timely than honourable flight. And even Urry himself, with some of his best men, who went last off the field, had undoubtedly fallen into their hands, had not Lord Aboyne unluckily displayed some ensigns and standards he had taken from the enemy, and, instead of pursuing them, gone up directly to his own people, whereby they believed, that it was a fresh party of the enemy coming on to make a new attack; and they were so long embarrassed with this mistake,

that the enemy's horse, though scattered and in great disorder, had sufficient time to get off out of all danger, and only a few of them got to Inverness with Urry before next morning.

Of the enemy, the remarkable persons that were slain were Campbell of Lawers, who was colonel of an old regiment, and Sir John and Sir Gideon Murrays. There were also some other very brave men, whose loss might justly have been lamented, had they not blackened their otherwise commendable qualities of courage and bravery, by exerting them in the service of this horrid and unnatural rebellion, in which some of them did not so much follow their own opinions as the humour of the times, and the ambition and avarice of their chieftains. Of those who fought with Montrose on the left, he missed only one private man; and on the other wing, where Macdonald commanded, he lost only fourteen private men. But there were several wounded, whose speedy accommodation and cure Montrose looked particularly after himself. As for his prisoners, he treated them with great mildness and discretion. Such of them as repented of their rebellion, he set at liberty, and enlisted such as inclined to his service; but those who were obstinate he disposed of into different prisons. Archibald Napier, son to Lord Napier of Merchiston, by Montrose's sister, had some little time before stole away from Edinburgh, without the participation of his father or his wife, and joined his uncle;

and, in this battle at Aulderne, gave a noble specimen of his courage and gallant behaviour, and displayed the fixed principles of an excellent disposition. On this account, the chiefs of the covenanters at Edinburgh laid hold of his father, who was now near seventy years of age, and as good a man as Scotland had bred in this age, and his lady, the Earl of Mar's daughter; Stirling of Kier, his brother-in-law, a gentleman of great worth, and chief of the name, and one who had suffered a great deal for his loyalty and affection to the king, together with his two sisters, the one Kier's wife, and the other yet unmarried, and threw them all into a dungeon, where they lay till they were afterwards set at liberty by Mr Napier himself, with the assistance of his uncle. This battle at Aulderne was fought on the 4th of May 1645.

CHAP. XI.

Urry joined by Baillie.—They provoke Montrose to fight.—He marches south against Lord Lindsay.—Deserted by the Gordons.—Gains the battle of Alford.—The Lord Gordon killed.

The Marquis of Montrose, after allowing his men some days refreshment, marched to Elgin, which is the chief town of the shire, where he made the longer stay for the sake of his wounded men, who were here better accommodated with surgeons and medicines, than they could possibly be in a camp. Then crossing the river Spey, he advanced by Keith and Frendraught to Strathbogie. Here Baillie, who was now joined by Urry and the horse which had escaped from Aulderne, encountered with him, and endeavoured to force him to an engagement. However, as his own men were much spent with their late fatigue, and far outnumbered by the enemy, especially in horse, he declined fighting, till he had recruited his army, and got some fresh troops. Yet he had much ado to keep back his men, who, wearied as they were, were however extremely eager to engage. Accordingly, he acted only upon the defensive; and having chosen a most convenient post, maintained it till the evening, and then marched off to Balveny;

whither the enemy followed him soon after: then passing through Strathdon and Strathspey, he went up to Badenoch; but the enemy getting possession of the opposite side of the river, kept pace with him, and continued all along to provoke him to fight; but he still declined it, resolving not to risk a pitched battle, till he had increased his strength; however, by harassing them with frequent skirmishes, and often beating up their quarters in the night-time, he so much weakened their power and broke their courage, that, however daring and intrepid they had hitherto appeared, both the officers and common men were seized with a panic, and retreated to Inverness in the night-time in the greatest disorder, though none pursued them.

Montrose was not a little pleased at having got so easily rid of this troublesome enemy, especially for this reason: the Earl of Lindsay, who was the principal leader of the covenanters, next to Argyle, and at the same time his rival, as being brother-in-law to the Duke of Hamilton, had all along exclaimed against Argyle for his bad conduct, and want of courage; or at least, however it happened, he complained that he was always unfortunate. He had accordingly had the influence to get the command of an army which was then new raised conferred upon himself, expecting to manage matters to better purpose, when he had the power in his own hands. Montrose was informed that he

had already passed over with his army into Angus, to act as a reserve for Baillie; and, if things should not succeed with Baillie to their wish, that he would at least be ready to prevent Montrose from crossing the Forth; for they were all along much afraid lest he should come to the south side of Forth, and carry the seat of war nearer Edinburgh. As he understood that Lindsay was still in Angus, lying at the castle of Newtyle, he resolved to suppress him with all speed, which he expected would be no very difficult task, Lindsay himself not having any reputation as a soldier, and his men all raw, new-raised troops, and unacquainted with the hardships of war.

In prosecution of this design, he set out from Badenoch, and, crossing the Grampian hills, marched through the heads of Mar, and, by very long and painful marches, came to the banks of the river Airly, intending to attack the enemy at unawares; which he might very easily have accomplished, being already got within seven miles of Lindsay, before he knew any thing of his approach. Every thing was in readiness to give the finishing stroke to this expedition, when the whole north-country forces, almost to a man, deserted, and returned to their own country by the very same road they had lately come. The reason of it was uncertain, and occasioned various conjectures. As for Lord Gordon, no person could show a greater concern for this unexpected treachery, or more resent-

ment against the offenders than he did; insomuch, that it was with extreme difficulty Montrose could hinder him from resolving to punish with death such of the deserters as belonged to him.

However, some were of opinion that they had been seduced away by Lord Aboyne, who was then absent from the army on account of his health, in consequence of some private orders from his father the Marquis of Huntly; who, as he was a man of a very haughty envious disposition, was extremely troubled at Montrose's success; and no less uneasy to see his eldest son so closely connected with him in the strictest bonds of friendship. Whatever was in it, Montrose was so struck with this unlooked-for misfortune, that he laid aside all intention of attacking Lindsay; and was forced to bear with patience the loss of a certain and glorious victory, thus in a manner wrested out of his hands.

This obliged him to take another course; and having sent off Colonel Nathaniel Gordon, a gentleman of great bravery and fidelity, into his own country, where he was much esteemed, to endeavour to raise some forces there, he himself followed him. By this time Baillie and Urry had returned from Inverness, and were encamped upon the side of the river Dee, in the lower Mar. Montrose, in the mean time, marched through Glenshee, and the Braes of Mar, and was come into the heart of the country called Cromar. In

his road, as he passed through the Braes of Mar, he dispatched Macdonald with a party into the farthest Highlands, to conduct the forces raised there with all diligence to the army. He then sent off Lord Gordon, that by his influence and authority, which was very considerable in these parts, he might assist and forward the colonel in making his levies; which he did with very great activity and success, and amongst other gentlemen brought back his brother the Lord Aboyne. While matters stood thus in Cromar, the Earl of Lindsay joined Baillie in the lower Mar: Montrose, being much inferior to them, as his army was so much weakened by the parties sent off with Lord Gordon and Macdonald, retired to the old castle of Kargarf, in order to prevent the enemy's falling upon him in a champaign country, where they might overpower him with their superior numbers; but here he thought himself in no danger from them, when he was so near the mountains. Here Lord Aboyne, again falling sick, went off to Strathbogie, and, under pretence of a guard, carried off with him a considerable party of horse, which his brother Lord Gordon with no small difficulty afterwards prevailed upon to return to the army.

In the mean time, Lindsay took from Baillie's army a thousand old experienced soldiers, and gave him in return as many raw undisciplined men of his own: thus furnished, as if he intended some mighty exploit, he passed through the

Mearns, and returned into Angus; from thence he ranged through Athole with his army, and plundered and burnt all that country, which was the upshot of this great expedition: therein imitating the example set him by Argyle, who first introduced that cruel practice of burning houses and corns; whereby he became much more terrible than by his sword, especially when he happened upon towns or villages where there were none to oppose him.

General Baillie was now gone to besiege the Marquis of Huntly's castle of Bog of Gicht, * which was reckoned the finest in all the north country, intending, if he should not be able to reduce it, to plunder and burn all the country round it, which belonged to the Gordons. Montrose, who wanted to let slip no opportunity of obliging the Marquis of Huntly, and his friends the Gordons, and of securing them to his interest, marched up with all speed to their assistance, though Macdonald was yet absent with a very considerable party; and, in the way, having got information that the greatest part of Baillie's army consisted of new raised men, having parted with most of his veterans to Lord Lindsay, he wished earnestly for an opportunity to fight him as soon as possible, and accordingly marched straight up to him. He had

* Now Castle Gordon.

not marched three miles, when the enemy's scouts appeared in view. He, therefore, dispatched some expeditious men who were acquainted with the country to discover their strength and posture. They returned very soon, with information, that the foot were posted on a rising ground about two miles off, and that their horse had possessed a very narrow difficult pass, which lay almost half way betwixt the two armies, and were advanced a little on this side of it. Against these, Montrose immediately sent off what horse were most in readiness, supported by some light musketeers. At first, the enemy entertained them at a distance with light skirmishing, but they soon retired behind the pass, which was so well manned with musketeers, that the party durst not attempt it. Montrose, therefore, ordered his foot to advance, and try if possible to dislodge the enemy, but they were prevented by night coming on, which separated them. Both armies lay upon their arms all night, and next day Montrose sent a trumpet to offer them battle, but Baillie returned for answer, that he would not receive his orders for fighting from his enemy. Wherefore, perceiving that it was impracticable to force them out of this narrow pass without a manifest risk, he withdrew to Pitlurg, thinking thereby to entice them out. From thence he went to the castle of Druminnor, belonging to Lord Forbes, where he staid two days. Here he was informed, that the enemy had at last quitted the pass, and

were marching to Strathbogie ; he thereupon set out by day-break towards a little village called Alford. How soon Baillie had received certain intelligence that Macdonald was gone off to the Highlands with a considerable part of Montrose's forces, he advanced boldly against him, imagining he had been on the retreat, and came up with him about noon. Montrose, having the advantage of a rising ground, determined to wait there for the enemy, who seemed to be marching directly up to him ; but they turned aside about three miles to the left, so that he continued his intended route to Alford, where he passed the night, at about four miles distance from the enemy.

Next morning early, Montrose commanded his troops to be all in readiness, and drew them up in order upon a hill that stands above Alford. He himself advanced at the head of a troop of horse to observe the enemy's motions, and while he was examining the fords of the river Don, which runs by Alford, he was informed that their whole forces, both horse and foot, were marching fast up to possess themselves of a ford which was about a mile from Alford, intending thereby to cut off his retreat ; for they still imagined he was flying before them, and were by that means drawn on to their own destruction. He thereupon left his troop of horse at a small distance from the ford, with some proper persons on whom he could rely, to bring him intelligence of what happened, and returned

alone to order his battle. He first took possession of that hill above Alford, where he might conveniently receive the enemy's charge, if they should fall on briskly; behind him there was a marshy ground full of ditches and pits, whereby their horse would be prevented from falling upon his rear, and in his front there stood a steep hill, which covered him entirely from the enemy, so that they could hardly see his first ranks. He had scarcely well finished his dispositions, when the troop of horse, which he had left at the ford, returned in full career, and informed him, that the enemy had crossed the river, so that neither army could now retire but with manifest loss. It is reported that Baillie, who was an experienced and wary general, was forced to this engagement much against his inclination, by the rashness of Lord Balcarres, who commanded a regiment of horse, and had precipitated himself and his regiment into danger, so as they could not be brought off without risking the whole army.

Montrose gave the command of his right wing, which was opposed by a superior force of the enemy's cavalry, to the Lord Gordon, to whom he joined Colonel Nathaniel Gordon, an old experienced officer; the left he committed to Lord Aboyne and Sir William Rollock; his main body was commanded by Glengary, and Drummond younger of Ballach, assisted by George Graham, quarter-master, all of them brave and well expe-

rienced officers. Mr Napier, his nephew, was at the head of the body of reserve, which was entirely covered by the hill. Matters being thus ordered, Montrose stood for some time on the rising ground, and the enemy in the valley below, in a manner fortified with ditches and pits, without either of them advancing a step forward; nor was it indeed advisable for the one to charge up the hill, or for the other to attack an adversary so advantageously posted. On either side, the number of foot was very near equal; each having about two thousand; but Baillie was superior in the number of horse, for he had full six hundred, whereas Montrose had not above two hundred and fifty; but these, indeed, were all gentlemen of resolution, who served as volunteers in defence of their royal master, and who would rather die gloriously in a just cause, than turn their backs in the field of battle; whereas Baillie's were listed from among the lowest class of people, and fought for pay, having little discipline, and far less honour to excite them. Besides, as most of the veterans were carried off by Lord Lindsay, Montrose made no question but this crowd of raw militia would be terrified with the shout of his men, and the sound of his trumpets, and would yield at the first onset; therefore, in full confidence of success from the justice of his cause, and the bravery of his soldiers, he made the first motion, and drew down his men. The Lord Gordon began the battle, and gave the enemy a

very smart charge, which was warmly received by them, relying upon the number of their horse; but they came very soon to close fighting, and both sides maintained their ground with such obstinacy, that none could advance a step forward but over the body of his vanquished enemy, nor was it possible to retire, those behind pressing on with such eagerness. The Lord Gordon, and his assistant Colonel Nathaniel, were the first who cut out a passage for themselves and their men, by a great slaughter of the enemy; when the Colonel immediately called out to the light musketeers who lined his horse, to throw away their muskets as now useless, and to fall upon the enemy's horse with their drawn swords, and cut them to pieces: they immediately obeyed his orders; and Montrose, at the very same time, bringing up Mr Napier and the body of reserve, which had lain concealed on the other side of the hill, the enemy were so much intimidated at the sight of these fresh troops, that they immediately gave ground and fled. Aboyne kept at a distance with the left wing, and engaged the enemy only in skirmishing with small parties, but upon seeing their opposite wing entirely routed, they also retreated without any considerable loss. The foot, being thus deserted by their horse, continued, notwithstanding, to fight for some time most desperately, and refusing quarter, were almost every one killed on the spot. Nor would their horse probably have escaped so safe, but for the

fate of the Lord Gordon, who, after he had routed the enemy, rushed fiercely among the thickest of them, and received a shot in his body from some of the flying men. His fall stopt his own men in the pursuit, their whole concern being immediately turned upon their dying lord; neither could Lord Aboyne, struck also with his brother's death, pursue them vigorously.

In this battle Montrose lost not one private man; and of gentlemen only two, Culcholy and Milton, whose names and families I should willingly have inserted, had it been my good fortune to know them,* being the smallest recompense their fate deserved, thus falling honourably in the field, in defence of their king, their liberty, and laws. Nor must the gallant behaviour of the livery-boys, both Scots and English, be omitted; many of them scarce fourteen years of age, who, throwing off their masters' baggage, mounted the sumpter-horses, and not only alarmed the enemy with the shew of a body of fresh horse; but as rivals of their masters' bravery, beyond what might be expected from their strength and years, charged with great forwardness among the thickest of the enemy, where some of them were slain, but not without selling their lives very dear; thereby in their youth giving proofs of

* Mowat of Balwholly, and Ogilvy of Milton—they were buried in the church of Alford —*Spalding's Hist*

such undaunted courage as would have been commendable even in riper years.

There was a general lamentation for the loss of the Lord Gordon, whose death seemed to eclipse all the glory of their victory. As the report spread among the soldiers, every one appeared to be struck dumb with the melancholy news, and an universal silence prevailed for some time through the army. However, their grief soon burst through all restraint, venting itself in the voice of lamentation and sorrow. When the first transports were over, the soldiers exclaimed against heaven and earth for bereaving the king, the kingdom, and themselves, of such an excellent young nobleman; and, unmindful of the victory, or of the plunder, they thronged about the body of their dead captain; some weeping over his wounds, and kissing his lifeless limbs; whilst others praised his comely appearance even in death, and extolled his noble mind, which was enriched with every valuable qualification that could adorn his high birth or ample fortune: they even cursed the victory which was bought at so dear a rate. Nothing could have supported the army under this immense sorrow but the presence of Montrose, whose safety gave them joy, and not a little revived their drooping spirits. In the mean time, he could not command his grief, but mourned bitterly over the melancholy fate of his only and dearest friend; grievously complaining, that one who was the honour of his nation,

the ornament of the Scots nobility, and the boldest asserter of the royal authority in the north, in short, his best and bosom friend, should be thus cut off in the flower of his age: but hoping, that time and reason would assuage his immoderate grief, he ordered the physicians to embalm his corpse, which he afterwards conducted to Aberdeen, where, with a pompous funeral, and all military solemnities, it was interred in his own presence in the cathedral church of that city, in the monument belonging to his family.

This battle at Alford happened upon the 2d of July 1645.

CHAP. XII.

Montrose marches southward.—Receives a considerable reinforcement from the Highlands.—The covenanters hold a parliament at Perth.—They march out and attack him in his camp at Methven-wood.—He escapes them.—Is joined by the Gordons and Ogilvies.—Marches into Stratherne.

The evening of that very day on which Montrose gained the battle of Alford, he marched to the castle of Cluny, where he allowed his men but a few hours refreshment, and proceeded directly to the banks of the river Dee. From thence he dispatched the Earl of Aboyne, who, by the death of his brother, Lord Gordon, had now succeeded to his command, into the country of Buchan, in order to levy more men to recruit his army, which was now diminished by the Highlanders going home with their booty after the battle. And as Macdonald was not yet come back, he remained for some time at Craigston, * waiting both his and Lord Aboyne's return. But finding that these recruits were not sent up to him so speedily as he expect-

* Rather Crabston, situated betwixt the Don and Dee, a few miles from Aberdeen, there being no place of the name of Craigston near the river Dee.

ed, and growing impatient at so long and unseasonable a delay, he crossed the Dee, and, marching over the Grampian hills, fell down into the Mearns, and encamped at Fordonkirk, which was anciently famous for being the burial-place of St Palladius.* From thence he dispatched a message to Lord Aboyne, who was then at Aberdeen, to hasten him to the army with what forces he had levied. Aboyne obeyed the message; but his recruits were not very numerous. He therefore sent him immediately back to the north country, to raise what more forces he could, and bring them with all speed to the camp. He himself marched through Angus, and in his way was met by his cousin, Patrick Graham, and the Athole-men, who had determined to stand by him to the last drop of their blood. Macdonald also joined him with an excellent body of Highlanders, among whom was Maclean, the chief of the name, a very brave man, and remarkably loyal, with about seven hundred of his clan; the Captain of Clanronald, a man of great renown among the Highlanders, and above five hundred of his men; the Macgregors also and the Macnabs, two clans inferior to none in bravery and activity, following each their respective chieftains, but of their numbers I am uncertain; and

* It was thence called *Padie-kirk*. This place is no less remarkable for having given birth to *Joannes a Fordun*, author of the *Scoti-Chronicon*.

Glengary, who deserves a singular commendation for his bravery and steady loyalty to the king, and his peculiar attachment to Montrose, whom he had never left from the time of the expedition into Argyleshire, had by his uncles and other officers brought up about five hundred; there were, besides, several of the Farquharsons from the Braes of Mar, who were men of approved valour, and also a small number from Badenoch, of real courage and bravery.

Montrose, being thus reinforced, resolved to penetrate into the heart of the kingdom, not only to put a stop to the enemy's levies in Fife, and besouth the Forth, but likewise to break up the parliament, which the covenanters had, with great solemnity, appointed to meet at Perth.* But he was prevented from putting this design in execution by the want of horse, whereof he was always in such scarcity, that it was seldom or never advisable for him to fall down into the low country. However, as he was daily expecting to be reinforced by Aboyne and Airly with a considerable body of ca-

* The parliament which should have met at Edinburgh was, on account of the plague which then raged there, adjourned to Stirling, where it sat down upon the 2d of July 1645; but the plague breaking out there also, they adjourned it to Perth against the 24th, and ordered all noblemen, gentlemen, and heritors, to be there in person, well mounted, with what forces they could raise against that time, under a severe penalty.

valry, he crossed the Tay at Dunkeld, and encamped near the river of Almond, and his approach struck the enemy at Perth with no small terror. He then drew nearer them, and next encamped in the wood of Methven.

All the enemy's foot, the garrison of Perth excepted, lay upon the south side of the river of Ern. The horse, who were left as a guard for the town and parliament, observing Montrose's scouts, gave the alarm that he was at hand, and would be immediately at the gates, intending without doubt to storm the town. The nobility, and other members of the parliament, were thereupon earnestly advised to save themselves by a speedy flight. Montrose, in the meantime, had not above an hundred horse, and theirs amounted to upwards of four hundred. In order to increase this panic, he advanced next day towards the town with his horse, and the like number of musketeers, whom he mounted upon the baggage-horses, and drew them up in such a way as to have the appearance of a great body of cavalry. Upon this the enemy thought proper to keep within the gates. He therefore turned aside towards Duplin, and took a view of the other side of the Ern, and of all that Strath, as if he had horse enough to keep that whole country in subjection. This appearance of his made the enemy believe that he was equally strong in horse as in foot; and therefore they gathered together what forces they could, from all quarters, to oppose his crossing

the Forth, if he should attempt it. In the meantime, as Montrose judged it unsafe for him to fall down into the plains, both parties remained quiet in their stations for several days,—the covenanters waiting for supplies from Fife, the counties besouth the Forth, and from the west, and Montrose expecting a like reinforcement from the north. Lord Aboyne being very slow in bringing up his new levies, he sent to hasten him up before he should lose this opportunity of defeating the enemy. He complained, but in a friendly and gentle manner, that, merely by his remissness, he had lost an eminent victory over the rebels, in which they might have been entirely defeated; however, he did not doubt but the opportunity might yet be recovered, if he would make dispatch.

When the enemy discovered that Montrose had deceived them with a sham-muster of his horse, and being now vastly superior to him even in foot, by the additions they had got from all quarters, they advanced to offer him battle, and resolved at any rate to force him to an engagement. He therefore thought it prudent to retire for some time into the neighbouring hills, where he was sure the enemy would not follow him, neither could they attempt it without a considerable loss.

Accordingly, so soon as he perceived their army approaching towards Methven, he ordered his baggage to march with all imaginable speed towards the hills, and drew out his army as if he intended

to fight, disposing his horse in the front, and securing the passes with strong guards. The enemy made no doubt, from this appearance, that he was resolved to hazard a battle; but his intention was only to gain time till his carriages were fairly out of danger. Then he ordered the army to march off, all in one body and in close ranks, placing the horse and some of his best musketeers in the rear, to cover their retreat from the enemy's cavalry. On the other hand, the enemy, who expected no less than a present engagement, seeing Montrose's army retiring, pursued them at first very briskly, but to no purpose; for, having occupied the passes as they went along, they easily repulsed them; and so, without the loss of one man, made good their retreat into the hills, which were inaccessible for the enemy's horse, and where they were quite secure from any attack from their foot.

In this retreat one thing happened well worth notice. When Montrose's horse were come very near the passes, the enemy, who perceived they could not now pursue them much farther, that they might not seem to have let them slip through their fingers, without attempting something, dispatched after them three hundred of their strongest and best horse; they came up boldly with a great shout and very insulting language. When Montrose saw them, he picked only twenty clever Highlanders, who, being accustomed to hunting, were extremely good marksmen, and sent them

back to chastise their insolence. They went forward creeping all the way, and, concealing their guns, took their aims so well, that they brought down the most forward of the party; whose fate, as being some of the best note among them, made the rest more cautious, and so they resolved to retreat: but these expert huntsmen, elated with their first success, and seeing the enemy in confusion, followed them down into the plains, and resolutely attacked the whole party, who, putting spurs to their horses, fled with the utmost precipitation, like so many deer before the hunters.

The enemy then took possession of the camp which Montrose had left in the wood of Methven, having gained no credit by this expedition, nor done any thing worth notice, farther than, in revenge of their late affront, and because they could not cope with men, therefore exercising their impotent rage upon women, and shamefully butchering such of the wives of the Highlanders and Irish who followed the army as fell into their hands. Montrose stopt and quartered at Little-Dunkeld, both because the ground there was unfit and impassable for horse, and that it was the most convenient station to wait for the recruits which he was daily expecting from the north country with Lord Aboyne. Here the two armies lay for some time very near, and in sight of one another, without attempting to act upon the offensive,

and only continuing to observe one another's motions.

At length Lord Aboyne, and Colonel Nathaniel Gordon, came to Dunkeld with their recruits from the north country; they brought only two hundred horse, and a hundred and twenty musketeers, mounted upon their carriage-horses in form of dragoons, but no foot at all: this was far below what was expected, but their valour and bravery, in some measure, supplied their want of numbers. Lord Airly and his son Sir David joined him also with a troop of eighty horse, who were mostly gentlemen of the name of Ogilvy; among whom was Alexander Ogilvy, son to Sir John Ogilvy of Innerquharity, a youth remarkable not only for his comely presence, and the dignity of his ancestors, but already loaded with military honours beyond what was to be expected from his years. Montrose, having got this reinforcement, resolved to march against the enemy directly, without loss of time. When he came to the river Almond, he received information, that several of their late auxiliaries had deserted them, and returned home: he therefore judged it necessary to see what condition they were in, and if his information was just; accordingly, having ordered his foot to take some rest, he rode out with his cavalry to reconnoitre: before sunset he came in full view of the enemy; who, being surprised at seeing him unexpectedly so near them, imme-

diately retired behind their lines. Next morning early he rode out again to reconnoitre, and was informed that they had left their camp at Methven late the night before, in an apparent fright, and crossed the bridge of Ern in great disorder. Upon this news he lost no time, but instantly began his march; and, crossing at a stone bridge about six miles up the river, lay that night in Stratherne.

CHAP. XIII.

The Fife-men rise in arms and join the covenanters.—Montrose marches to Kinross; crosses the Forth, and encamps at Kilsyth; pursued by Baillie's army, who attack him and are entirely routed at Kilsyth.

The shire of Fife is the richest and most populous, and the best planted with towns and villages of any in Scotland. The inhabitants are by no means martially inclined, being mostly merchants, shopkeepers, sailors, and farmers. They are, of all others, the most addicted to the new-fangled superstitions, to which they have been seduced both by the example and authority of the nobility and gentry among them, and by the seditious sermons of their preachers; and in consequence thereof, had very early, almost to a man, declared for the covenanters. The country itself is in form of a peninsula; and is bounded on the south by the Frith of Forth, on the north by the river Tay, which is capable to receive ships of burden a great way up, and on the east by the ocean: so that the only entry into it by land is from the west, which is but a narrow pass, and was at this time possessed by both armies.

The whole shire was on that account in an up-

roar. Their worthy ministers were not idle, but thundered out their excommunications against all, of whatever age, rank, or condition, who would not take up arms. Some strengthened their anathemas by compelling the country people to rise: numbers flocked unto them, and others absconded, according as they were wrought upon by superstition, confidence, or fear.

Montrose earnestly desired to come to a decisive battle, before they should be joined by this new levy from Fife: but they were so advantageously posted, from the natural situation of the ground, and the narrowness of the passes, that he could neither safely attack them, nor allure them out of their intrenchments. *

Having offered them battle once and again, he resolved to penetrate into the heart of the country; and came the length of Kinross, with a view to prevent the levies they were making there, and in hopes at the same time to draw them out of their fastnesses to the assistance of their distressed friends. The enemy allowed him to march off without the least disturbance; and immediately turning another way, they made what haste they could to the east part of Fife, keeping close by the sides of the rivers of Ern and Tay.

Montrose dispatched Colonel Nathaniel Gordon

* They lay then at Kilgirston, hard by the bridge of Ern.

and Sir William Rollock with a small party of horse, as an advanced guard, to view the country. This party separated, and spread themselves abroad through Fife in order to receive the more exact intelligence; so that no more than ten men remained with the colonel and Sir William, when they unexpectedly fell in with a body of two hundred of the enemy, chiefly horse, who were recruiting in that quarter; and being too far advanced to attempt a retreat, with these twelve men they charged the whole two hundred, and put them to flight, having killed some and taken others prisoners.

Montrose reached Kinross in the evening. As the shire of Fife was deeply intoxicated with the prevailing superstition, and, on that account, thoroughly attached to the covenanters, and disaffected to the royal cause, he made no doubt but they were now all in arms. And judging it would be highly imprudent to risk an engagement with such a multitude, both of horse and foot, as they would probably have, he resolved to cross the Forth. Two reasons induced him principally to this motion; he expected that the people from Fife would not easily be prevailed on to march beyond the limits of their own country; and at least that they would soon be wearied out by the fatigue of long marches, and would leave the army, by which means their strength would be considerably diminished; and, as they were educated and ac-

customed to trade and agriculture, and employed in the other more peaceable scenes of business, he made no doubt but they would quickly be sick of the hurry and fatigue of a military life. Moreover, the Earls of Lanark, Cassils, Eglinton, and others, zealous covenanters, seeing the seat of war drawing so near their own quarters, were busy levying what forces they could in the borders and west of Scotland. It was therefore his business to prevent these levies, or endeavour to persuade these noblemen to return to their duty, before they had joined Baillie and his army.

Accordingly, decamping from Kinross, he advanced towards Stirling, and lay that night within three miles of that town; and next day, sending off his foot before him, he marched slowly after with his horse, suspecting that the enemy were following him hard in the rear.

And indeed he had conjectured right; for his spies brought him word that Baillie was already approaching with a more numerous army than ever he had; and soon after his scouts coming in sight, one of them was apprehended, who informed Montrose, that he believed Baillie was to march all that night, intending, if possible, to force him to an engagement before the Fife-men were sent home, who, he said, were already heartily tired, and he believed would not easily be brought to cross the Forth, reckoning they had done their duty, now that their own country was delivered

from a hostile army. From this information he saw there was no time to be lost in crossing the Forth; and, after encouraging his men to their duty, he began his march; and passing by the town and castle of Stirling, in which the enemy had then a very strong garrison, he crossed the river that night, at a ford four miles above the town. Next morning, about day-break, he halted a little, about six miles from Stirling, where he was informed that the enemy had not crossed the Forth that night, but had lain about three miles from Stirling, on the other side of the river; and continuing his march, pitched his camp in the fields about Kilsyth. He ordered his men to refresh themselves, but to be ready either for an engagement or a march upon the first notice, as occasion should require. In the mean time, the enemy crossed the Forth, by a much better and shorter way, at the bridge of Stirling, and encamped in the evening within three miles of Kilsyth.

Here Montrose received intelligence that the Earl of Lanark, brother to the Duke of Hamilton, had raised a body of a thousand foot, and five hundred horse, from among the vassals and dependents of the Hamiltons, in Clydesdale, and the places adjacent, and was not then above twelve miles from Kilsyth; and that the Earls of Cassils, Eglinton, Glencairn, and other noblemen of the covenanting faction, were also busy raising the in-

habitants of the west country. As these places had hitherto experienced none of the inconveniences of the war, they were the more willing and ready to take up arms, and might probably soon amount to a considerable body. These things considered, Montrose judged it absolutely necessary to encounter Baillie and his present army, though more numerous than his own, before he should be joined by Lanark, and the other forces from that country. For should he delay till they were united, he would then be obliged either to fight with very great inequality, or return again to the Highlands, not only with the loss of his labour, but of his military reputation, which, by his frequent victories, was now raised to a very high pitch. On the other hand, the enemy, trusting to their numbers, and arrogantly imagining that Montrose had, for some days before, made a running march before them, and had crossed the Forth more through fear than design, were for attacking him directly, even in that ground which he had chosen as the most advantageous. And so confident were they of success, that their principal concern was to prevent his retreat, and stop up his passage to the Highlands. Some people gave out that Baillie was very averse from fighting at this time ; but that he was obliged to yield to the importunity and authority of the Earl of Lindsay, and the other noblemen in the army, who compelled him to draw up his men, and prepare for

battle much against his inclination. * However it happened they marched up against Montrose by break of day. When he saw them, he said that it fell out just as he could have wished, for that he would supply the want of men by the advantage of the ground; and immediately sent to take possession of the strengths. He ordered all his men, both horse and foot, to throw off their upper clothes, and fight stript to their shirts; which they cheerfully and readily obeyed, and stood prepared for the attack, being resolved either to conquer or die. His whole army consisted only of five hundred horse, and four thousand four hundred foot; while that of the enemy was six thousand foot and a thousand horse.

In the field of battle there were some cottages and country gardens, in which Montrose had placed a small guard. The first effort of the enemy was to dislodge them; and they made a very brisk attack, which was as warmly received. This a little abated their courage, which being perceived by Montrose's guard, they attacked them in their turn, and beat them off with the loss of several of their men. This successful beginning so much animated a body of the Highlanders, who were

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* Argyle Lanark, and Crawford-Lindsay, since the parliament's sitting at Stirling, were all joint commanders along with Baillie. *Guthrie's Memoirs*, p. 191. Lanark had then left the army, and gone about his levy.

hard by, to the number of a thousand, that, without waiting orders, they run directly up the hill, and thereby exposed themselves to the whole strength of the enemy. Montrose was much displeased with their rashness; but yet it was necessary to support them; and indeed it is hard to say, whether their safety was more owing to the cowardice of the enemy, or the speedy relief which was sent them. The enemy's rear was very slow in advancing, and while their van made a stand till they should come up, Montrose got sufficient time to send assistance to these resolute Highlanders. At length he observed three troops of horse and two thousand foot dispatched from the main army against them; and after severals had refused to undertake this desperate service, he accosted the Earl of Airly, and told him, that these men would undoubtedly be cut in pieces by the enemy's cavalry, if they were not speedily supported; and that the eyes and wishes of the whole army were upon him, as the only person capable to repulse the enemy, bring off these men, and, by his grave and discreet conduct, correct the error which their rash and imprudent valour had occasioned. Airly most cheerfully undertook this dangerous piece of service; and marched immediately towards the enemy with a troop of his own horse, commanded by John Ogilvy of Baldavie, who had formerly served as a colonel in the Swedish service, and was a very brave, experienced officer. The ene-

my charged them at first with great courage; but they could not long withstand the bravery of the Ogilvies, and were forced to give way. Airly followed so close, that they fell back upon their foot, and thereby threw them all at once into confusion. This behaviour and success of the Ogilvies so much animated the rest of the army, that they could no longer be restrained, but rushed forward upon the enemy, with a great shout, as if they had already obtained the victory. The enemy's horse were very soon put into disorder, and fled, leaving the foot quite open and exposed; who immediately followed their example, and, throwing away their arms, endeavoured also to save themselves by flight. The pursuit continued for fourteen miles, in which most of the rebels were killed, scarce an hundred of the foot escaping with their lives. Nor did the horse share a much better fate, many of them being killed, severals taken prisoners, and the rest entirely dispersed. Their whole baggage and arms fell into the hands of the conquerors. Montrose lost only six men; three of them were gentlemen of the name of Ogilvy, who fell in the attack made by Lord Airly, to which the victory was in a great measure owing.

The noblemen who were in the covenanters' army saved themselves by a timely retreat, and the swiftness of their horses. Some of them reached the castle of Stirling; while others got to the Frith of Forth, and went aboard some ships they

found lying at anchor in the road. Among these was Argyle, who now for the third time saved himself by means of a boat; and even then he did not reckon himself secure, till they had weighed anchor and carried the vessel out to sea.

Among the prisoners were Sir William Murray of Blebo, James Arnot, brother to the Lord Burleigh, and Colonels Dice and Wallace, besides several other gentlemen of note; all of whom Montrose dismissed upon their parole never to carry arms against the king.

This is the famous battle of Kilsyth, which was fought on the 15th of August 1645, and in which six thousand of the rebels were slain.

CHAP. XIV.

Great alterations in the kingdom upon the victory at Kilsyth.—Montrose enters Glasgow.—Is joined by several of the nobility.—Receives the surrender of the city of Edinburgh.—The prisoners discharged by the covenanters.—The peace of the west country settled.

This victory at Kilsyth gave a very different turn to the face of affairs through the whole kingdom. The covenanting nobility immediately dispersed, and fled to different corners. Some of them went to Berwick and Newcastle, others to Carlisle, others to Ireland, and some one way, some another. Many who had secretly favoured the king's cause begun now to declare their sentiments openly, and to make frank professions of their loyalty, and offers of their assistance. On the other hand, such as had been in arms with the covenanters began to plead their excuse, alleging they had been forced out against their inclinations by the absolute tyranny and oppression of the enemy; and now submitted themselves to the pleasure of the conqueror, humbly begging his protection, and imploring his wonted clemency. Deputies were also sent from the most distant shires and cities, to

profess their allegiance to the king, and all duty and obedience to Montrose as his deputy-governor; and at the same time to make offer of what assistance they could afford him of men, arms, or other warlike necessaries. The nobility, the chieftains, and other men of power and influence in the country, came also in great numbers to congratulate him upon his success, and to make him tenders of their assistance. He received all that came to him with great courtesy, and granted them an absolute pardon and indemnity for the errors of their past conduct. All he demanded of them was only to exchange the rapacious and oppressive tyranny of the covenanters, for the mild government and tender protection of their most gracious sovereign. He intreated them to lay aside their former unreasonable animosities, and study for the future to express their loyalty and obedience to the best of kings, in a manner becoming dutiful subjects, and not allow themselves to become the dupes of a seditious, turbulent faction, whose only aim was their own private interest; for obtaining of which, they had set the king and his subjects by the ears, and had well nigh ruined both. For his own part, he said, his only intention, from the beginning of these troubles, had been to endeavour by force of arms, seeing all other means had proved ineffectual, to preserve the religion and liberty of his country, to defend the king's prerogative, and the dignity of the peerage, and, in a word, to rescue

the property and privileges of his fellow-subjects in general, from the oppression and tyranny of a rebellious faction; and to restore the people to their ancient peace, happiness, and splendour. And if this could be brought about by his means, he would return his thanks to God for making him the instrument of so desirable a work; but if things turned out contrary to his wish, he would at any rate solace himself with the pleasure of having discharged his duty to God, to the king, his earthly vicegerent, and to all good men; and would besides have the approbation of his own conscience, for having used his most hearty endeavours for obtaining these noble ends.

The whole country now resounded Montrose's praise. His unparalleled magnanimity and bravery, his happiness in devising his plans of operation, and his quickness in executing them; his unshaken resolution and intrepidity, even in the greatest dangers, and his patience in bearing the severest hardships and fatigues; his faithfulness and strict observance of his promises to such as submitted, and his clemency towards his prisoners; in short, that heroic virtue which displayed itself in all his actions, was extolled to the skies, and filled the mouths of all ranks of men; and several poems and panegyrics were wrote upon this occasion to his honour. Most of these encomiums were sincere, and well intended; but some of them, it must be confessed, proceeded merely from craft

and dissimulation. Such is the vicissitude of human affairs, and the affections of the populace so fleeting and precarious, that they now openly threw out their maledictions against Argyle, Balmerinoch, Lindsay, Loudon, and the other ringleaders of the covenanters; whom immediately before they had respected and revered as deities, but now exclaimed against them as the authors of all their miseries.

Every thing had thus succeeded to Montrose's wish. The northern parts of the kingdom were secured behind him; and he had now a free passage opened to the south, the covenanters' strength being now every where broke, and their principal leaders, who, from a consciousness of their having had the chief hand in fomenting the rebellion, absolutely despaired of pardon, being withdrawn, or rather driven out of the kingdom. Though the enemy had now no army in the field, yet intelligence was brought of some commotions in the western parts, and that the Earls of Cassils and Eglinton, and some other promoters of their cause, had incited the counties where they had any influence to renew the war, and had brought together a tumultuous body of about four thousand men. Montrose, therefore, the day after the battle of Kilsyth, marched down his army into that part of Clydesdale where the Earl of Lanark was busy levying his men: but when he received accounts of the loss of the battle he fled. This

station Montrose reckoned the most convenient for his affairs, both in the south and west. From thence he went to Glasgow, the chief town of the county, and had it surrendered to him. He entered this city amidst the general acclamations of the inhabitants, having first ordered his men to abstain from all manner of hostilities. He made a strict scrutiny into the conduct of such as were suspected of rebellion and disloyalty, and to terrify the rest, put the principal incendiaries to death. He staid not long here; but, in order to relieve the inhabitants of the burden of his army, marched off the second day, and encamped at Bothwell; and as this was only six miles from Glasgow, lest his men should return and commit insolencies upon the inhabitants, he indulged them with the liberty of a guard of their own citizens to protect the town. By this mild and gentle conduct, he expected to win over the affections, not only of the people of Glasgow, but of the other towns in the south, in a more effectual manner than by force of arms.

While he remained at Bothwell, he received the addresses of many of the nobility, some of them presenting them in person, others by their friends. Deputies also from many of the shires and towns came to wait upon him, and assure him of their fidelity and affection. Among the first who offered their assistance were the Marquis of Douglas, chief of the noble and ancient family of the

Douglasses; the Earls of Linlithgow, Annandale, and Hartfield, the Lords Seton, Drummond, Fleming, Maderty, Carnegie, and Johnston; Hamilton of Orbiston, Justice-Clerk, Charteris of Amisfield, Tours of Innerleith, a man of great merit, who afterwards died bravely in the bed of honour, with Stuart of Rosayth, Mr Dalziel, brother to the Earl of Carnwath, and several others whom I have either now forgot, or think fit to pass over in silence, lest, by this unseasonable encomium, I should rouse the indignation of the rebels against them, whereby they may suffer more than can be compensated, by ascribing to them all the merit and praise their loyalty deserves.

Montrose's first and principal concern, after the victory at Kilsyth, was about his friends in prison. His generous soul was touched with their miserable condition; they had continued long under the hardships of a nasty and squalid imprisonment in the tolbooth of Edinburgh, and had been condemned to death, for no other alleged crime but their loyalty to their sovereign, and were daily expecting the execution of this sentence. He therefore dispatched his nephew, Archibald Master of Napier, and Nathaniel Gordon, with a select party of horse, to Edinburgh, in order to summon the city to surrender, to secure its obedience and fidelity, and to set the prisoners at liberty: but if they refused to submit, then their orders were to

attack them with fire and sword. When they came within four miles of the town, they stopped, not intending to approach nearer, unless they were obliged by the obstinacy of the citizens: this they did, both to preserve the city and its inhabitants from the fury and rapacious insolence of their soldiers, who, considering it as the chief spring and fomenter of this accursed rebellion, might, in the transports of their rage and fury, be hurried on to commit the greatest cruelties, and perhaps set the city on flames, and consume it to ashes; a thing Montrose had principally cautioned them to guard against: as also to preserve their own men from the infection of the plague, which then raged in that place and the neighbourhood, and daily cut off great numbers.

When the news of their approach reached the town, an universal consternation seized all ranks; they despaired of obtaining terms, and appeared as frantic as if the city had been already in a blaze, and an enraged enemy murdering and destroying within its gates. Many, conscious of their guilt, accused themselves as sacrilegious, perjured, and ungrateful traitors, and unworthy of that clemency and forgiveness for which they so ardently prayed.

They privately made application to the prisoners, and, in the most humble manner, entreated them, out of compassion to the place, which was already almost ruined by the pestilence, and to the

miserable remains of the inhabitants, that they would intercede for them with Montrose, and by their good offices avert that rage, which they now acknowledged they had justly provoked. All their hopes, they said, were centered in their undertaking this generous office, as the only mean to preserve a sinking city from utter destruction. They acknowledged themselves guilty of all the crimes laid to their charge, but solemnly protested, that should they at this time experience his clemency and goodness, they should atone for their former rebellion by the most exemplary loyalty, and implicit duty and obedience. The prisoners, whom, not long before, even the meanest of the mob had treated in the most contemptible and despiteful manner, and had devoted to the gibbet, unmindful of the cruel treatment they had received, farther than that the sensible remembrance of it prompted them to return thanks to God for thus bringing about their preservation and deliverance at a time when they so little expected it, encouraged their enemies, and told them, that neither the king himself, nor Montrose, his lieutenant, had any pleasure in the ruin and destruction of his subjects, but earnestly wished and laboured for their safety and prosperity, could they be only brought to see it themselves. They advised them forthwith to send commissioners to Montrose, to implore his pardon, as nothing could more effectually contribute to mollify the heart of a conqueror than a speedy

submission ; promising to intercede with Montrose in their behalf; and they did not doubt but his great and generous soul would allow itself to be overcome with the humble entreaties and supplications of a distressed city.

The citizens of Edinburgh, thus encouraged with hopes of success, immediately convened the town-council, in order to make choice of proper commissioners to send to Montrose. Among the prisoners there were two especially eminent for their high birth, and thoroughly acquainted with Montrose. The first of these was Ludovick Earl of Crawfurd, chief of the ancient and noble family of the Lindesays, a person famous for his military achievements abroad, in the Swedish, Austrian, and Spanish services. The Earl of Lindesay, his cousin, from an ambition to attain to the title and honours of Crawfurd, thirsted for his blood, and had such address and influence with the covenanters, as to get him condemned. The only crime they laid to his charge was, that he had served the king his master with the greatest fidelity and bravery, in his capacity as a soldier, and they feared would still do so, were he left alive. The other was James Lord Ogilvy, son to the Earl of Airly, who was very highly esteemed by Montrose, and was, besides, odious to the rebels, both for his own and his father's courage and power. And, as he was a declared enemy to Argyle, both on account of the ancient animosities that subsisted betwixt the

families, and some recent injuries they had received from Argyle, he was, therefore accused of the same crime with Crawfurd, and condemned to the same punishment. The council of Edinburgh made choice of these two noblemen from among the prisoners, and set them at liberty, earnestly imploring them to use their interest with the lord-governor in their behalf, and assist their deputies in obtaining their request, thereby to preserve a city, already sore afflicted with the avenging hand of heaven; at the same time wishing destruction to themselves and their posterity, if ever they should prove unmindful of the favour, or ungrateful to their benefactors.

These two noblemen cheerfully undertook this office, to the great satisfaction of the whole city, and, having joined the delegates, went out to meet the Master of Napier. In his way towards Edinburgh, Napier had released his father and spouse, Sir George Stirling of Kier, his brother-in-law, and his sisters, from the prison of Linlithgow, to which they had been sent by the covenanters from the castle of Edinburgh; and, now being attended with this agreeable company, and by the city delegates, Mr Napier returned directly to his uncle.

Montrose was transported with joy at the sight of his dearest friends Crawfurd and Ogilvy, whom he met with the tenderest embraces of friendship, having been so long deprived of their company and assistance. He congratulated them on their safe-

ty and deliverance, and gave them all the respect and accommodation possible, as a consolation, in some degree, for their long confinement. On the other hand, they expressed the utmost gratitude to him, and extolled him as their avenger and deliverer; both parties thus seeming to vie with one another in mutual expressions of their affection and esteem.

The city delegates were then admitted to audience; they made a free surrender to him of the town, and humbly deprecated his vengeance, and implored his pardon and forgiveness, promising, in name of the whole inhabitants, an inviolable fidelity and obedience for the future, and committing themselves and all their concerns to his patronage and protection, which they humbly entreated he would grant them. They promised also immediately to release all the prisoners in their custody, and desired him to assure himself that any thing else he should desire of them should be instantly complied with. The town, they said, had been almost depopulated by a dreadful plague, so that no supplies of men could be expected from it; but they were ready to contribute all they could to defray the expence of what troops he might raise in other places. Above all, they most earnestly implored him to intercede for them with their most gracious and merciful king, to obtain his pity and pardon, and that he would not condemn the whole city for the crime of rebellion, into which they

had been involved by the craft and example of a few seditious men, armed with power and authority. Montrose gave them reason to hope for the royal forgiveness; and the only conditions he demanded of them were sacredly to observe their loyalty and allegiance to his majesty for the future; to renounce all correspondence with the rebels, whether within or without the kingdom: the castle of Edinburgh, which he well knew was then in their power, he required they should surrender to the king's officers; and that, as soon as the delegates returned to the city, all the prisoners should be immediately set at liberty, and sent to his camp.

The prisoners were sent him directly on their return; but as to the other articles for which they had engaged, not one of them was performed. This, indeed, was agreeable to their usual perfidy and ingratitude; for which the God of justice and truth, and avenger of these crimes, will undoubtedly inflict a condign punishment.

While these things were transacting, Montrose sent off Alexander Macdonald and John Drummond of Balloch with a strong party to the west country to suppress the rising there, and frustrate the designs of Cassilis and Eglinton. However, they did not wait their coming, but dispersed in the greatest panic upon the news of their approach. The noblemen and gentlemen fled, some of them to Ireland, and others to their conceal-

ments. All the western shires, and the towns of Ayr, Irvine, and others, immediately came and made their submission, readily offering their duty and service; * and, indeed, it must be allowed that Montrose, much contrary to his expectation, found no where so much loyalty and firm attachment to his majesty's interest, as in these western parts; a great many knights and gentlemen of considerable families, and even some of the first rank in that part of the kingdom, taking the first opportunity to join him. But it is proper at present to spare the commendation and praise they deserve, rather than, by naming them, to point them out as objects of the cruelty and resentment of their implacable enemies, for the good-will and affection they bore to their lawful sovereign.

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* "After the battle of Kilsyth, Montrose sent Macdonald with a party to the west, to fright them that had not come to express their submission, and to him all did homage; and no where found he so hearty a welcome as at Loudon Castle, where the chancellor's lady embraced him in her arms; and having treated him very sumptuously, sent afterwards her servant John Haldan, with him, to present her service to the Marquis of Montrose."—*Guthrie's Memoirs.*

CHAP. XV.

The intrigues of Roxburgh, Hume, and Traquair.—The Highlanders desert and return home.—Montrose appointed captain general and lieutenant-governor of the kingdom.—Receives the king's orders to march southward, and to join Traquair and Roxburgh, who deceive him.

MONTROSE now turned his views towards the south borders. To pave the way for that purpose, he invited the Earls of Hume, Roxburgh, and Traquair to join him, and co-operate in promoting the royal cause. This he wished the more earnestly, as they were men of very great power in that country. He had, besides, great reason to expect their compliance, as they had professed all along to be zealous friends to the king, and lay under very great obligations to him; for his majesty had raised them from private gentlemen to the first rank of nobility; and had, besides, given them the lieutenancies of the most opulent counties, whereby they amassed considerable riches, even to the envy of their neighbours, and the raising no small prejudice against the king on that account. They had sent a message to Montrose, by some of their principal friends, to assure him, that they were

ready to run all risks under his command and direction, for the service of his majesty, to whom they professed the highest obligations; and would immediately raise what forces they could, and join his army, if he would only march into that country with ever so small a party; since by that means their friends and dependents, and the other people of these shires, would be encouraged by his authority and presence to join him the more cheerfully; and, on the other hand, such as refused might either be compelled to rise, or would at least be easily kept in order. On this account, they earnestly intreated him to comply with their desire, and he should find nothing but the utmost fidelity and readiness in them for the service. These were fair promises, and apparently sincere; but they were observed with the same faith and exactness usual with most of the king's favourites, who had tasted most liberally of his bounty. However, the Earl of Lanark, brother to the Duke of Hamilton, fell not under this imputation; he acted openly and above board. Montrose earnestly solicited him, by some of his own friends, to return to his fidelity and duty; yet, notwithstanding he had reason to expect not only a pardon for what was past, but likewise his brother's enlargement, he answered in plain terms, that he was resolved to have no correspondence with that side of the question, and would not therefore encourage them with vain hopes. And happy had it been for his majesty, if

all those in whom that good king reposed the most exuberant trust, had, from the beginning of these troubles, spoke out their minds with the same candour and ingenuity.

About the same time, Montrose dispatched the Marquis of Douglas and the Lord Ogilvy into Annandale and Nithsdale, in order, with the assistance of the Earls of Annandale and Hartfield, to raise what horses they could in these counties, and to march directly with such troops as they levied into the estates of Traquair, Roxburgh, and Hume, and thereby oblige them, without farther excuse, to take part in the war. For Montrose, who had now a thorough knowledge of the inclinations and practices of most of the courtiers, and, besides, had often had the experience of the inconstancy and double-dealing of these noblemen, particularly of Traquair, suspected, and not without good ground, that the pretended causes of their delay were entirely affected. Douglas, Hartfield, and Annandale, executed their commission very well, and had soon levied a body of men, which was pretty considerable as to their number; but they consisted mostly of ploughmen and shepherds, and were quite unacquainted with military discipline, though at first they expressed great forwardness, yet they soon lost their courage, and could hardly be kept together; wherefore Douglas entreated Montrose to hasten and meet them at the Tweed with his veteran troops, expecting, that, by his presence and

authority, and the example and company of his experienced soldiers, they might be brought, either willingly or by force, to stand to their duty. In the mean time, in obedience to their orders, they came the length of Strathgala, on purpose to afford an opportunity, and their assistance, if requisite, to Roxburgh and Traquair to raise their men. But this these noblemen had never intended; their views were of a different nature; they had resolved to betray the king's cause, and, as they envied the glory Montrose had acquired by supporting it, to ensnare him into his enemies' hands by fraud, seeing they had no hopes of effecting it by force. And as they were in concert with the covenanters, and knew all their motions, they had certain information, that David Lesly and the whole horse under his command, were on their march to England, and would soon be at hand. This, they thought, would afford a good opportunity for perpetrating their treacherous purposes. For this end they sent frequent messengers, not only to Douglas and his party, but even to Montrose himself, to represent to them, in the strongest terms, that they were ready to expose their own persons to the greatest dangers; but that they could not prevail on their friends and dependents to take arms, and that Montrose's own presence was absolutely necessary to animate and encourage them; and to obtain the greater credit to what they said, they imprecated the heaviest curses upon themselves if

they should not sacredly perform what they had promised. These solicitations, however, were of no effect with Montrose, and he continued still at Bothwell; for he concluded, if they were really sincere and honest in their professions, that Douglas and his party, who were still in their neighbourhood, were abundantly sufficient either to encourage and animate their friends, or to compel them to rise in arms.

Montrose had now continued for some considerable time in his quarters at Bothwell, when many of the Highlanders, being loaded with spoil, deserted privately, and soon after returned to their own country: their officers and leaders also openly demanded liberty to go home for a short time. They pretended that, as the covenanters had at that time no army within the kingdom, there was the less occasion for their presence; and as their corns had been all destroyed, and their houses burnt by the enemy, there was an absolute necessity for their going home, though but for a few weeks, in order to repair their habitations, and lay up some winter provisions for their wives and families: therefore they earnestly begged a short furlough; and, as an inducement to obtain it, they solemnly promised to return in less than forty days, in greater strength and numbers. Montrose, perceiving that they were fully resolved to leave him, and that it was not in his power to detain them, as they were all volunteers, and served with-

out pay, thought it most expedient to dismiss them with a good grace, in order to ingratiate himself the more with them, and encourage their return. He praised the bravery of the soldiers, and in the king's name returned his thanks to the officers for their services; and entreated them to be as expeditious in settling their domestic affairs as possible, so that they might return against the appointed day, under the conduct of Alexander Macdonald, whom, at his own earnest desire, he appointed their captain. Macdonald, in a formal oration, returned thanks in all their names to the lord-governor for his great condescension; and gave his solemn promise, as a security for their speedy return. However, he had secretly resolved not to return, and actually never after saw Montrose. He carried off with him above three thousand Highlanders, all very brave men, and the flower of the army; and not satisfied with these, he privately seduced a hundred and twenty of the very best of the Irish, and carried them along with him also, as a life guard.

During the time Montrose lay at Bothwell, there came several messengers to him from the king, then at Oxford, by different roads. Among these was Andrew Sandilands, a Scotsman, but educated in England, and in holy orders; a man of great integrity, well affected to the king, and much esteemed by Montrose, with whom he continued till the end of the war; and Sir Robert Spotis-

wood, formerly president of the court of session, and at this time the king's secretary for Scotland. Sir Robert had come from Oxford through Wales, and passed over to the Isle of Man; from whence he landed in Lochaber, came down to Athole, and was conducted by the Athole-men to Montrose. All the instructions brought him from the king, by these several messengers, concurred in ordering him to join Roxburgh and Traquair, and take their assistance and advice, as persons of whose fidelity and inclination to the king's service there was no reason to doubt. He was also commanded to march with all expedition to the river Tweed on the borders, where he should be met by a body of horse, which his majesty was immediately to send from England to his assistance; with these he would be sufficiently strong to fight General Lesly, should he encounter him with the covenanters' horse, as was suspected. Such were the king's positive commands, the effect of his easiness, and too implicit trust and confidence in his old servants, with which Montrose was obliged to comply, as they were repeated in every letter he received; and so he resolved to set forward to the Tweed.

The day before he begun his march, * the whole army was reviewed; Macdonald and the Highland-

* September 3, 1645.

ers not being yet gone. Sir Robert Spotiswood, who had brought down his majesty's commission under the great seal, appointing Montrose captain-general and lieutenant-governor of Scotland, delivered the same to him in a respectful manner, under the royal standard; and he immediately put it into the hands of Archibald Primrose, clerk of the council, to be published and proclaimed to the army. When that was done, he addressed the army in a short, but pathetic speech, wherein he applauded their bravery, and their loyalty to the king, and expressed his own particular regard and affection for them on that account; and, besides, giving Macdonald his due praise, in the face of the whole army, in virtue of the powers given him by his commission, he conferred on him the title of knighthood. At that time not Montrose only, but every body who favoured the king's interest, conceived the greatest opinion of Macdonald; but his conduct soon contradicted this good opinion, and undeceived them, not only to the great detriment of the king's affairs, but to their own utter ruin.

The second day after Montrose had set out on his march, and had reached the castle of Calder, the Earl of Aboyn also left the army, and carried off with him not only his own men, but had been at pains to seduce all the rest of the northern forces to go along with him. The governor, and all his own friends, who were ashamed of his conduct,

used their utmost entreaties with him to stay; but no considerations could prevail upon him to delay his journey, not even so much as one week longer; though they assured him that he should then have the governor's free permission to depart, and the good graces and opinion of all honest men.

Montrose, notwithstanding all these discouragements, and though his forces were now reduced to a very small number, continued his route, and, passing by Edinburgh, marched through the shire of Lothian, and came to Strath-gala; where he joined the Marquis of Douglas and his party, whose numbers were much diminished by a continual desertion. Here the Earl of Traquair came and met him, with an appearance of readiness and frankness more than ordinary; he pretended the strongest attachment to the king, and even to Montrose himself; and, as a testimony of it, he the next day sent his son, the Lord Linton, with an excellent troop of horse, to fight under his command, intending by such a pledge to blind Montrose, so as he might not suspect the snares he had laid for his destruction. For this was not the first time that Traquair, with the highest ingratitude to his lord and benefactor, had acted the spy to the covenanters, and endeavoured to betray Montrose, and through him the king's interest in Scotland, into their hands.

He was now come within twelve miles of the

Earls of Hume and Roxburgh ; and yet had received no message from them, nor heard that they were making the smallest preparation to join him. This moved him not a little ; and he therefore resolved to march into their country, and force them to join his army. But this they had foreseen, and cunningly prevented his design. General Leslie, with whom they held a private correspondence, and of all whose motions they were informed, was by this time come the length of Berwick with his whole cavalry, besides a considerable reinforcement from England : immediately on his arrival, they themselves invited him to apprehend and make them prisoners ; which was executed by a party of horse the very day before Montrose came to their houses. That cunning old fox Roxburgh practised this artifice as a consummate piece of policy : he expected to curry favour with the covenanters, by having thus voluntarily delivered himself into their protection ; and at the same time was in no danger of losing that of the king, as he pretended that he fell into their hands much against his will. Besides, he had influence enough with the Earl of Hume to bring him into the same measures. This was Leslie's first exploit ; after which he crossed the Tweed, and marched into the east parts of Lothian.

Montrose was by this time fully sensible of the treachery of these noblemen ; and, as he had now lost all hopes of the assistance the king was to have

sent him from England, he saw himself in danger of being ruined by the enemy's obstructing his passage to the north country and the Highlands; and therefore resolved, with the small army he had, to fall down into Nithsdale, Annandale, and the shire of Ayr, there to raise what forces he could: for although he had no certain information of the enemy's strength, yet he conjectured that it consisted chiefly in horse.

CHAP. XVI.

Montrose marches to Selkirk.—Where, by the negligence of his scouts, he is surprised by General Lesley.—Is overpowered and surrounded.—But cuts his way through the enemy with a few of his friends,—and retires into Athole to levy men.

From Kelso Montrose marched to Jedburgh, and thence to Selkirk. * He quartered his horse within the town, but his foot he stationed in a neighbouring wood, resolving to occupy all the advantages of the ground, lest he should be obliged to engage with an enemy, of whose strength he had yet got no certain information. He gave strict charge to the officers of his cavalry to send out several expert and trusty spies, and to place frequent guards in every convenient place; and above all, to be extremely careful to have their centinels regularly disposed. It was his custom to see all these things done himself, but that night he could not, being obliged to write letters to the king by a faithful messenger he had fallen upon, whom he was to dispatch before day. He, therefore, ear-

* September 12, 1645.

nestly begged of them to take care that the enemy, whose strength in horse he was afraid of, did not attack them at unawares; and the officers all promising the utmost diligence and attention, he trusted to their vigilance, and spent the whole night in making out his dispatches. Several uncertain reports were brought him through the night of the approach of the enemy, all which he transmitted to his officers. They were all men of very great military experience, and had acquired no small renown in that capacity, both at home and abroad; but, whether it was owing to the indolence of their spies, or that they deceived themselves by an unaccountable fatality, they confidently and positively affirmed, that there was not an enemy near them. At day-break, some of the best and most expeditious of the cavalry were again sent out to reconnoitre; upon their return they averred, that they had scoured the country for ten miles round, and had carefully investigated all the bye-roads and passes, and swore that there was not an enemy in arms within ten miles of them. But it was afterwards found, when too late, that the enemy's army was not above four miles from Selkirk, and had passed that whole night under their arms.

Upon the same day that Montrose marched from Jedburgh, General Leslie mustered his forces upon Gladsmoor, a large plain in the east part of Lothian; where, in a council of war held with the

chiefs of the covenanters, it was determined, that he should march by Edinburgh towards the Forth to oppose Montrose's retreat to the north country, and oblige him to fight before he was again joined by the Highlanders. This was no sooner concerted, than he changed the intended plan, and ordered his whole army to turn to the left, and march southward with the greatest expedition, by the way of Strath-gala.

All these who were unacquainted with the secret, were surprised what motives he could have for altering his first design, and taking the present route; but it was afterwards known from the enemy's own account what these were; he had some letters sent him, giving him an accurate account of Montrose's strength, which consisted only of five hundred Irish foot, and a few weak horse, and these, too, entirely undisciplined, so that he would be very easily defeated, were the present opportunity laid hold on of attacking him near the Tweed, where he then was. Lesly immediately prosecuted this advice, and, as we observed, had come within four miles of Selkirk that night. It was commonly reported, that Traquair was the person who sent this information to Lesly, but I cannot affirm it for truth; one thing, however, cannot be denied, that he sent his commands that very night to his son, Lord Linton, to withdraw from the king's army as fast as he could, which he immediately did, apparently to both their satisfactions, an in-

stance of the most unparalleled ingratitude, thus not only to forsake, but to betray the cause of their master, to whom they lay under infinite obligations. *

The morning being extremely dark and foggy, much favoured the approach of the enemy, and they were already within half a mile, and marching up in order, before they were observed by Montrose's out-guards. Upon this alarm he mounted the first horse he could find, and gallopped into

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* Lord Traquair, in common with other statesmen of the time, had the unhappy fate of being suspected of deep treachery towards his master, principally on account of his well known hatred to the bishops. See a severe character of him in The Staggering State of Scotch Statesmen. The author of a letter addressed to his descendant, the Earl of Traquair, in the year 1747, thus sums up a prolix account of his perfidy to King Charles and Montrose: "Upon the whole of your renowned great grandfather's policy, though it not only conduced to the ruin of the best of kings, but unexpectedly brought on his own, he was, nevertheless, happy to think, that he had so meritoriously assisted his covenanted friends. Great pity it was that a nobleman of so much disinterestedness should have been deserted by the world, and his own son, to such a degree, as to be left to die in the fields for want of the common necessaries of life, in the heart of his own estate, and under the eyes of his own tenants. But they, a parcel of unthinking creatures, alleged he had been a violent oppressor, as if that was a reason for them quietly to see him reap the fruits of his treachery; hard fate! when his services to his master's enemies claimed for him a reward of a more *exalted* nature."

the field appointed for that morning's rendezvous, where he found nothing but noise and disorder. The cavalry, quite unacquainted with discipline or command, were scattered up and down through the fields, feeding their horses; and upon the first alarm, they fell into such a panic and confusion, that, without any regard to the preservation of their lives or their honour, they could never be brought into order, so as to be led on to the field of battle. The foot, who in all were not above five hundred, were not in a much better condition, many of them being very unseasonably taken up about the baggage; and, after all these disasters, what crowned the whole was the absence of many of the officers, who never reached the field. The enemy's army consisted of six thousand, mostly English horse; and, as they were already pressing hard upon him, he had neither time to deliberate nor retreat. They charged his right wing twice, and were as often gallantly repulsed with considerable loss. When they found they could make no impression upon that brave troop, they turned to the left wing, where there was no horse, and easily broke in upon the foot stationed there. At the same time, a body of two thousand foot, whom the enemy had sent over the river, fell upon the rear of the right wing, who, now finding themselves unable to resist such a force, and at the same time in danger of being surrounded and cut in pieces, endeavoured to save themselves by making the best

retreat they could. The foot, who had now small hopes of making their escape, maintained their ground with great firmness and obstinacy, till, quarter being given them, they delivered up their arms and surrendered; but all of them were soon after most inhumanly murdered in cold blood, by Lesly's orders, without the least regard to the quarter that was granted them; an instance of such unexampled cruelty and perfidy, as entirely sullied all the military glory and renown which he had acquired by his services abroad. The enemy soon gave over the pursuit, and fell to rifling the baggage, where they likewise exercised their cruelty upon the women and boys, and murdered them all, without distinction of age or sex.

It is not easy to give an exact account of the slain. Almost none of the horse, and very few of the foot, excepting those who surrendered, fell in the field; and as they were no more than five hundred in all, and of these near two hundred and fifty came up safe to Montrose next day, all armed with their swords, we may conjecture there could not be more amissing. There were but few prisoners taken, and these mostly by the country people, when straying in roads they knew not, after their horses were tired; all of whom these peasants, unmindful of the safety and protection they themselves had lately received from Montrose, immediately delivered up to be sacrificed by their

enemies, in order to glut their insatiable thirst of blood.

Both the royal standards were preserved from falling into the enemy's hands; that of the foot was saved by a brave Irish soldier, who, with a surprising presence of mind, amidst the universal consternation which prevailed in the army, seeing the enemy masters of the field, stript it from the staff, and wrapt it round his body; and, without any other clothes, forced his way, sword in hand, through the enemy, and brought it to Montrose that night; and, in reward of his valour, Montrose gave him the charge of bearing it thereafter himself, and advanced him to be of his life-guard. The standard of the horse was saved by William Hay, brother to the Earl of Kinnoul. He was a young gentleman of noble endowments; and when his uncle, Mr Douglas, son to the Earl of Morton, was wounded so grievously in the battle of Alford, that he was no longer able to bear the royal standard, had been then appointed to succeed him in that post. He carried it with him off the field, and escaped into England, where he lay concealed for some time, till, the country about the borders being somewhat settled, he set out from thence, accompanied only by Robert Toures, a man of great bravery, and no small experience, having served some time with honour as a captain in the French armies. And travelling in disguise, and generally in the night time, he arrived safely in the

north country, and had the pleasure to restore the royal standard again to his general.

When Montrose perceived the day was lost, and now for the first time had the mortification to see his troops entirely routed, and put to the flight, he thought of nothing else than to sell his life as dear as he could : and, having rallied about thirty of the scattered horse, resolved to fight to the last, rather than fall alive into the hands of the enemy. He was almost surrounded by them, and in such numbers, that he had no hopes of breaking through them. Notwithstanding this, whoever ventured out of his rank to attack him was sure to pay for it ; and in this way severals were killed, and many repulsed with disgrace. At length, in place of these desperate resolves, some cooler reflections providentially arose in his breast. He considered, that the loss of one battle was not of so great moment, and might easily be recovered ; and so much the more readily, as only a small part of his forces had been present, and the Highlanders, who are the principal strength of the kingdom, and all the northern parts of the country, were yet safe and untouched. He reflected also, that there were severals of the nobility and gentry of the first power and rank in the nation, who, having now openly declared their sentiments, and taken part in the war, might probably be disconcerted by his death, and suddenly fall off, whereby the king's affairs in Scotland might be utterly ruined. Therefore, lest

his dearest lord and master should come to suffer greater detriment by his fall, than might probably accrue from this unsuccessful effort, he determined to live for the service of his king, and the promoting of that cause, the justice of which forbid him to despair. The Marquis of Douglas, Sir John Dalziel, and a few more trusty and resolute friends, came up with him very seasonably to second these reflections. They used every argument to prevail with him, and obtested him by every thing he held dear and sacred, that he would not wantonly throw away his life; but that, for the sake of his king, and the safety of both church and state, he would speedily look to the preservation of his person, seeing that in him alone, under God, all their hopes were centered; and with him they were resolved either to live or die. Montrose was at length prevailed upon by their entreaties; and, putting himself at their head, cut his way through the midst of the enemy, who were now more intent in plundering the baggage than in pursuit. Of such as attempted to pursue them, some they killed, others they took prisoners: among the last was one Bruce, captain of a troop of horse, and two standard-bearers, whom they brought off with their ensigns. They were civilly treated, and, after being kept some days, were released, upon their promise that as many prisoners of the same rank should be set at liberty in their place; but this they did not think proper religiously to observe.

Montrose had not gone above three miles from Selkirk, when he overtook a good number of his own men, who now made up a considerable party, and enabled him to prosecute his march secure from the insults of the country people. As he passed by the Earl of Traquair's house, whose treachery in betraying him to the enemy he was not yet informed of, he desired to speak with him and his son; but they were both denied to be at home, though some gentlemen of honour and credit affirmed they were both in the house; however, Traquair did not rest here. He had the effrontery openly to congratulate the covenanters upon their victory; and, with a petulant and derisive sneer, to observe, that now at length it appeared that Montrose and the king's forces could be defeated in Scotland; a behaviour so shocking, that even his own daughter, the Countess of Queensberry, checked him for it, as far as filial modesty would permit.

Montrose halted a little near the town of Peebles, to give his men some time to draw their breath: and in the mean time, he was joined by some more of the stragglers; and about sun-set entered the town, where he rested all that night. Next morning, by break of day, he passed the Clyde at a ford, to which he was conducted by Sir John Daziel; and there, to their mutual joy, he was met by the Earls of Crawfurd and Airly, who had escaped by a different road; 'they undervalued the loss of the

battle, now that they had found him alive, and out of danger; on the other hand, it gave him no small satisfaction to see his dearest friends safe; and not the less, that they brought along with them near two hundred horse, which they had picked up by the way.

Though he was now secure against the pursuit of the enemy, yet he resolved to make all the haste he could into Athole, in order to begin his new levies, and raise what forces he could among the Highlanders, and his other friends in the north country. Accordingly, having crossed the rivers of Forth and Ern, he marched through Perthshire by the foot of the hills, and so came to Athole, having in his way dispatched Douglas and Airly with a party of his horse into Angus, and Lord Erskine into Mar, to levy what forces they could in these countries, among their friends and vassals. Sir John Dalziel, who had lately contracted an alliance with Lord Carnegy, was sent to him, with a commission to the same purpose. Sir Alexander Macdonald likewise was wrote to, desiring him, according to his promise, to come down with his Highlanders against the day he had appointed. But there was no person whose return Montrose was at greater pains to solicit than that of Aboyne. He wrote him several letters, and employed sundry gentlemen to wait upon him, and endeavour to prevail with him to bring back

his men to the army, who, of themselves, were heartily inclined to the service, and wanted only his authority to put them in motion, and his example to animate and excite them.

CHAP. XVII.

Montrose joined by four hundred Athole-men.—Accounts of the cruel butchery of the prisoners by the covenanters.—Huntly refuses to co-operate with Montrose; yet Aboyne joins him, but soon leaves him.—Montrose returns to Perthshire.—The death of Lord Napier.

THOUGH the harvest-season was already far advanced, the corns in that cold climate were not quite cut down; neither had the country-people as yet got their houses and cottages repaired, which had been burnt and destroyed by the enemy; so that they were but very ill provided against the approach of winter, which is generally in that country extremely severe. These things abated much of the wonted forwardness and readiness of the Athole-men. Montrose had the influence, notwithstanding, to procure among them four hundred good foot to attend him to the north country; an expedition, as they thought, not attended with very great danger; and they faithfully promised, that when he was returned, and was again to march to the south country, the whole strength of the province should be at his command.

In the mean time, he received frequent assur-

ances from the Lord Aboyne, that he would be down at him immediately with his forces; and Macdonald gave him reason to expect the same of him and his Highlanders. Lord Erskine informed him, that his men were already in arms, and only waited either Aboyne's company, who was in his neighbourhood, or Montrose's orders to put them in motion.

At this time a rumour passed that a strong body of horse, sent by the king from England to Montrose's assistance, were on the road down to Scotland; and many conjectured that they were already not far from the south border. But there were accounts of something of a different nature, which were more unquestionable; even of a most inhuman tragedy committed upon the prisoners taken at the late battle, without distinction of sex or age: of those who were seized by the country people, many of them were immediately cruelly butchered by them; and such as this barbarous race of mortals had the compassion to preserve, were, by orders of the chiefs of the covenanters, thrown altogether headlong over a high bridge, and drowned in the river Tweed; not the men only, but women with child, and mothers with sucking infants at their breasts: and if any of them by chance reached the banks of the river, and endeavoured to scramble up to preserve their lives, they were immediately knocked on the head with clubs by the soldiers, and thrown back into the water. The

noblemen and gentlemen were imprisoned in loathsome dungeons, and destined, first to be exposed to the intolerable insolence of the mob, and then to death itself, in order to gratify their insatiable thirst of blood.

Nothing ever grieved Montrose more deeply than this melancholy account of the fate of his friends. He was impatient of every delay that prevented him from affording them immediate relief. And, therefore, with surprising expedition, he crossed the Grampian hills, and marching through Braemar and Strathdon, he came to Lord Aboyne, whom he hoped his presence would encourage to make the greater dispatch in coming south. For he proposed, that being joined by Lord Erskine and the Earl of Airly, with their forces, and Macdonald being once come down with his Highlanders, to take up the Atholemen, in his way, and march his whole army directly over the Forth, where he had hopes of meeting the cavalry sent him by the king. By this means he expected the enemy would be deterred from murdering their prisoners; and that they would not be so hardy as to put hand in them while an army was yet in the field, and it was uncertain to what side the victory might at last incline. And, accordingly, the covenanters, alarmed with the news of Montrose's great preparations to renew the war, delayed the execution of their

prisoners for some time, till they should see what the consequences might prove.

In his way he found Lord Erskine lying sick; but his vassals, whose loyalty and bravery Montrose had often experienced, even in the absence of their master, were all in readiness, and only waited Lord Aboyne's motions, upon whose example and authority they much relied.

The Marquis of Huntly, who had been skulking for near a year and a half past, whether roused by the fame of Montrose's victories, and of the recovery of the kingdom out of the hands of the rebels by his means, or hurried on to his ruin by the fatality of his own unhappy destiny, at length creeped out of his concealment, and returned home to his own country.

He was a man equally unfortunate and inconsiderate; and, however much he would seem, or was really attached to the king, yet he often betrayed that interest, through a private and unaccountable envy he had conceived against Montrose, whose glory and renown he endeavoured rather to extenuate than make the object of his emulation. He durst not venture to depreciate Montrose's actions before his own people, who had been eye-witnesses of them, and were well acquainted with his abilities, lest it might be construed into a sign of disaffection to the king himself. However, he gave out, that he would take the charge of commanding them himself during

the remainder of the war; and in that view he headed all his own vassals, and advised his neighbours, not without threats if they acted otherwise, to enlist under no other authority than his own. They remonstrated, how they could be answerable to disobey Montrose's commands, who was appointed by the king his deputy-governor, and captain-general of all the forces within the kingdom. Huntly replied, that he himself should in no ways be wanting in his duty to the king; but in the mean time, it tended no less to their honour than his own, that it should appear to the king and the whole kingdom, how much they contributed to the maintenance of the war; and this, he said, could never be done, unless they composed a separate army by themselves. He spoke in very magnificent terms of his own power; and endeavoured as much to extenuate that of Montrose. He extolled immoderately the glory and achievements of his ancestors the Gordons; a race, worthy, indeed, of all due commendation, whose power had for many ages been formidable, and an overmatch for their neighbours; and was so even at this day. It was, therefore, he said, extremely unjust to ascribe unto another, meaning Montrose, the glory and renown acquired by their courage, and at the expence of their blood. But for the future, he would take care, that neither the king should be disappointed of the help of the Gordons,

nor should they be robbed of the praise due to their merit.

These things were interpreted by severals as highly equitable, and proceeding from a regard to the honour of the clan : but the more considerate part, who were acquainted with Huntly's disposition, saw through the disguise ; and perceived that they proceeded from the utmost degree of rancour and ill-will towards Montrose. His intention, they saw evidently, was to withdraw what men he could from Montrose, not only to the great detriment of the king and kingdom, but, as it proved afterwards in the end, to his own utter ruin and destruction. Severals of the wiser and more intelligent sort condemned his resolution, as highly imprudent and unseasonable, and even destructive to himself. They observed, that all his enterprises had misgiven either through bad conduct or bad fortune : Montrose, on the other hand, fought with better success, and therefore they thought it imprudent to divide, upon the vain pretext of his carrying away the honour. Such a separation was not only ignominious, but might prove of fatal consequences to both ; whereas, should they act with united strength and council, they would be able, not only to defend themselves, but to reduce their enemies to obedience, and restore the authority of the king, to their eternal honour and renown. Montrose had, without the assistance of the Gordons, obtained many eminent

victories; whereas, they had done nothing memorable but when under his command; and therefore they earnestly entreated him to adhere constantly to the lieutenant-governor, which they reckoned would be no less serviceable than agreeable to the king, and to the satisfaction of all good men; and at the same time contribute most effectually to his own honour. Some of them did not even hesitate to declare before him, that if he persisted obstinately in his resolution, they would give their service and obedience to Montrose, though with the hazard of their lives and fortunes; in which they were as good as their word.

Huntly rejected all these advices from his friends, and set himself to oppose Montrose upon all occasions. There was nothing he could propose, however salutary or useful, which Huntly did not thwart or reject: and if Montrose at any time came into his opinion, which he did often, and on purpose to obtain his confidence, he immediately deserted that opinion, and embraced another: appearing easy and compliant to Montrose, when present, but never failing to oppose him in his absence; and not very consistent even with himself.

At length the Earl of Aboyne, after being strongly solicited by frequent messages from Montrose and the earnest entreaties of his own friends, that he might some how acquit himself of his promise, came down and joined him at Drumminor, a castle of the Lord Forbes, with a pretty considerable bo-

dy, to the number of one thousand five hundred foot, and three hundred horse; all cheerful and in good spirits, and ready to attempt any enterprise under Montrose's command. Aboyne himself, when he first saluted the governor, frankly professed that he would carry his men wherever he pleased to lead them; and told him that many more were to follow with his brother Lewis, whom he could not get brought along with him for want of time. Montrose highly applauded his fidelity and diligence; and immediately set out on his return by the same road he had come, in order that, taking up the Lord Erskine's forces and the men from Mar by the way, he might again cross the Grampian hills, and so fall down into Athole and Angus; and if he was also readily joined by the people from those countries, he did not doubt but, in less than fourteen days, he would again cross the Forth with a very strong army.

Aboyne and his men performed the first day's march with great cheerfulness; but, on the second day, his brother Lewis, who was put under the Earl of Crawfurd's command, marched back with a strong party of horse, as if he had been to attack some troops of the enemy, and returned home; carrying away with him as many of the soldiers as he could, under the appearance of a guard. When Crawfurd came back, he told that Lewis had gone home, but was to return next day: for so he pretended to Crawfurd, though he

had no intention to return; this being the first piece of treachery of the kind he was guilty of. On the third day, when the army was come to Alford, it was observed that Aboyne's men were very backward in the march, and their ranks extremely thin and disordered, they having deserted in great companies every night; and at length Aboyne himself, their commander, had the assurance to desire leave to go home. This surprised every body; and made them inquisitive what could induce him to alter his resolution so suddenly. He excused himself by alleging his father's express commands, which he could not disregard, especially as they were not without sufficient reasons; a party of the enemy being in arms in the lower parts of Mar, and ready to fall in upon his lands, were they destitute of the protection of his own men; so that he could not, in common prudence, carry his forces elsewhere, while his own country stood in need of their assistance. Montrose used many strong arguments to prevail with him to stay: he convinced him there was no danger to be apprehended from any forces in the north country; there being no infantry, and only a few troops of horse, who kept themselves within the town of Aberdeen, and, from the smallness of their number, neither durst attempt nor could effectuate any thing of moment; and it was scarce to be doubted, but even these would be called south to assist in defending the heart of the coun-

try, upon the first news of his approach. He insisted that it was much more for Huntly's interest to have the seat of war removed into the enemy's country than to have it within his own ; and that, therefore, they should make all possible haste south, in order to relieve the north country from the burden of the war. Besides, as he was daily expecting some auxiliary forces from England, it was impossible to join them, unless they went to meet them beyond the Forth. And last of all, he lamented the deplorable condition of the prisoners, many of whom were Huntly's own friends, relations, or allies, who, if they were not speedily relieved, would soon be all cruelly put to death. Aboyne could make no return to these cogent reasons ; but entreated that the whole matter might be laid before his father. Accordingly, such persons as were thought most acceptable to Huntly were sent to him for that purpose ; the one was Donald Lord Rae, at whose house he had lived during his concealment ; the other was Alexander Irvine, younger of Drum, who had a short time before married Huntly's daughter ; both of them under great obligations, and extremely grateful to Montrose, having lately recovered their liberty by his means. However, they came no speed with Huntly. Lord Rae was so much affronted at the disappointment that he was ashamed to return ; but Mr Irvine returned to give an account of their commission, and never afterwards forsook Mon-

trose. He brought some letters from his father-in-law, but they were full of uncertainty and ambiguity: and he ingenuously confessed that he could not prevail upon him to declare his real intentions; but, for his own part, he believed that it was not possible to divert him from his present perverse resolution. Aboyne thereupon declared that it was much contrary to his inclination to leave Montrose; but urged the necessity he lay under to obey his father, more especially as he was then sickly; and therefore begged only a few days liberty to return home, and endeavour to mollify him, promising most solemnly to follow him in less than a fortnight with a more numerous retinue. Montrose, with great reluctance, granted him his leave of absence for the time required; and he again, of his own accord, renewed his promise to return within the space limited.

After Aboyne had returned home, Montrose marched through Braemar and Glenshee, and so down into Athole, where having increased his forces by a new levy, he marched into Perthshire. Here his hopes from the north country were again revived, by a message he received from Aboyne, assuring him he would be up to join him with his forces even before the appointed day. At the same time Captain Thomas Ogilvy, younger of Powry, and Captain Robert Nisbet, who had come by different roads, arrived with messages from the king to Montrose. Their orders were to desire

Montrose, if possible, to make what haste he could to join Lord George Digby, son to the Earl of Bristol, and the auxiliary horse sent under his command, whom he would meet not far from the English border. Montrose immediately dispatched those gentlemen north to Huntly and Aboyne, to communicate these instructions to them, imagining that they might be encouraged by the interposition of the king's authority, and the prospect of immediate assistance, to send up their forces without delay, in the vain expectation whereof he had already trifled away too much time in Strathern.

At this time Lord Napier of Merchiston died in Athole. He was the chief of that very ancient family, and not less noble in his personal accomplishments than in his birth and descent; a man of the greatest uprightness and integrity, and of a most happy genius, being, as to his skill in the sciences, equal to his father and grandfather, who were famous all the world over for their knowledge in philosophy and mathematics, and in the doctrine of civil prudence far beyond them. He had long served their majesties, James and Charles, with great fidelity and loyalty, and was much beloved and much trusted by both; having been promoted to the office of treasurer, and exalted to the rank of nobility; and for his loyalty and affection to the king had been often thrown in prison by the covenanters, and his whole estate

ruined. Montrose, when a child, had revered him as a most indulgent parent; in his youth he advised with him as a most sagacious monitor; when grown up he respected him as his most faithful and trusty friend; and now lamented his death as if he had been his own father. He wrote some very learned dissertations concerning the *jus regium*, and the rise of the troubles in Britain, which it were to be wished might some time see the light.

CHAP. XVIII.

Montrose marches into Lennox.—Sir William Rollock, Alexander Ogilvy, Sir Philip Nisbet, Colonel O'Kyan, and Major Lachlan, put to death by the covenanters.—Montrose marches into Athole; again attempts a reconciliation with Huntly, but in vain; he surprises him at last into an interview, at which they concert their future operations.

MONTROSE had already spent about three weeks on his march and in Strathern, waiting for Aboyne and his forces from the north country; but now receiving accounts that the rebels were beginning to glut their cruelty with the blood of their prisoners, he was fired with impatience, and would dally no longer; but immediately crossed the Forth, and marched down into Lennox, taking up his quarters upon Sir John Buchanan's estate, a prime covenanter in that country. He expected, that being so near Glasgow, where the covenanters at that time held a committee of estates, they would be thereby terrified from putting any more of their prisoners to death. In this view he marched out his cavalry every day in sight of the city, and they were allowed to plunder the whole country round without opposition; though the committee had a guard of no less than three thousand horse, for

their own and the city's protection; and he had not full three hundred horse, and twelve hundred foot.

Before Montrose had come into Lennox, the covenanters had got some accounts of the animosity and difference that subsisted betwixt him and the Marquis of Huntly, and that Lord Aboyne, with his men, had left him in Braemar, and returned home. Encouraged with this news, they adventured upon the execution of three very brave gentlemen, their prisoners, as a prologue to the bloody tragedies they were afterwards to exhibit. The first of these was Sir William Rollock, of whom mention has been often made in the course of this history, a gentleman of great courage and experience, and from his infancy particularly esteemed by Montrose, to whom he continued constant and faithful to the last. The chief crime they laid to his charge was, that he had not dared to perpetrate a deed of the most villanous and atrocious nature. For, having been sent by Montrose, after the battle of Aberdeen, with some dispatches to the king, he was apprehended by the enemy, and had undoubtedly been immediately executed but for Argyle's means, who used all his endeavours to engage him to assassinate Montrose; and at length, through the fear of immediate death, and the influence of very high rewards, prevailed on him to undertake that barbarous office, for which, however, he secretly entertained the utmost

abhorrence; and having thereby obtained his life and liberty, he returned straight to Montrose, and disclosed the whole matter to him, entreating him, at the same time, to look more carefully to his own safety; for it was not to be thought, that he was the only person who had been practised upon in this shameful manner, or that others would equally detest the deed, but that several would undoubtedly be found, who, allured with the bait, would use their utmost industry and pains to merit the promised reward.

The second person whom they brought to the scaffold was Alexander Ogilvy, whom we likewise mentioned before, * eldest son to Sir John Ogilvy of Innerquharity, a very ancient family, and not among the least famous in the Scots history. He was yet but a youth, scarce eighteen years of age, but had already displayed a genius for courage and magnanimity far beyond his years. Nor is it easy to conjecture what they could possibly lay to his charge, other than that new and unheard-of kind of treason, a becoming loyalty and obedience to the best of kings. But it seems it was necessary to sacrifice this intrepid young man to gratify the cruelty of Argyle, who was the inveterate and implacable enemy of the name and family of Ogilvy.

The third was Sir Philip Nisbet. Next to his father, he was chief of the ancient family of West-

* P. 160.

nisbet, and had served some time in England, and commanded a regiment in the king's army with renown. Excepting the new-coined treason, which they had always ready at hand to allege as an excuse for putting their enemies to death, I cannot imagine what other motive they could have for executing this gentleman, but that from his courage and activity they dreaded he might some time or other avenge the atrocious injuries which they had committed upon his father and his family. All the three bore their fate, as became loyal subjects and good Christians, with the utmost constancy and resolution.* To these we may add two Irish gentlemen, equally remarkable for their bravery and and their birth, who were executed at Edinburgh. These were Colonel O'Kyan and Major Lachlan, odious to the covenanters on no other account than that they had often felt the effects of their valour. There were many more appointed for execution at Glasgow; but Montrose's unexpected approach disconcerted them a little, and obliged them to defer the rest of the executions till another time.

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* "At Glasgow they caused to be executed, at the mercat-cross, upon October 28, Sir William Rollock, and the next day Sir Philip Nisbet and Alexander Ogilvy of Innerquarity, (whereof the first was but lately come home from foreign parts, and the last was but a boy of scarce eighteen years of age, lately come from the schools;) and upon that occasion it was that Mr David Dick said, The work goes bonnily on; which passed afterwards into a proverb."—*Guth. Mem.* p. 182.

The report of the death of his friends gave Montrose very great concern; and it is hard to say whether he was more enraged at the cruelty of his enemies, or the cowardliness of his friends; for, besides the Marquis of Huntly, whose forces he had now looked for so long in vain, more than six weeks being elapsed from the time that his son, Lord Aboyne, had given reason to expect he would be up with them; Macdonald, also, of whom Montrose had all along entertained the highest notions, though frequently sent to, and encouraged by Montrose's army being so near him, yet gave no hopes of his speedy approach, though the time he himself had appointed for his return was already long expired. The winter, which this year was more severe than any in the memory of man, was already far advanced, and the auxiliaries which the king had sent him, under the command of Lord Digby, had been repulsed, all which might have been easily prevented, and the kingdom reduced to order and obedience, had not these great men shamefully betrayed the cause they professed.

At length, on the 19th of November, Montrose removed from Lennox, and marching through the hills of Monteith, which were deep with snow, he passed through Strathern, and crossing the Tay, returned again to Athole. Here he met Captain Ogilvy and Captain Nisbet, whom he had formerly dispatched north to Huntly, to communicate to him what orders they had brought from the

king. They reported, that they found Huntly quite obstinate and inflexible, and that he gave no credit to them, nor to the message they brought from his majesty, but had answered them disdainfully; that he knew the king's affairs better than either they or the governor, with whom neither he nor his sons were resolved to have any correspondence or connection; such of his friends and vassals as had voluntarily assisted Montrose, he reprehended very severely on that account, and treated them no better than if they had been actually engaged in the rebellion. However, the governor thought it necessary to take no notice of these things at this time, and while he was employed among the Athole-men in settling the militia of that country, he dispatched Sir John Dalziel to the marquis, as a proper mediator of peace and friendship betwixt them. Sir John was desired to show him the imminent danger that the king and kingdom were presently in, and the risk that he himself, and every loyal subject, run in consequence thereof; that it was owing solely to his and his son's fault, both that the auxiliaries, sent to their assistance by the king, were not timeously introduced into the kingdom, and that these brave and loyal prisoners had been thus cruelly butchered, and that those which still remained in their hands, many of whom were men of the first rank, and nearly related to Huntly himself, would undoubtedly undergo the same miserable fate, if not time-

ously relieved. He, therefore, entreated and obtested the marquis only to come to a friendly conference with the governor, in which he promised him he should obtain full satisfaction of all his doubts.

The marquis answered Dalziel as to these matters in his usual obstinate peevish humour, and absolutely refused to agree to the conference; for, as he knew that he could not, with any shew of reason, oppose the arguments and motives which would be adduced by Montrose, he was afraid to encounter his modest assurance and prudence, and therefore shunned his presence. But Montrose, having settled affairs in Athole, that nothing might be left unattempted to bring Huntly to a right way of thinking, he resolved to pass over all these affronts, and, by heaping favours and benefits upon him, force him, even against his will, to a reconciliation, and to co-operate with him in promoting the king's affairs. Accordingly, in the month of December, he set out with his army, and, passing through Angus, crossed the Grampian hills, and arrived in the north country, by a march of very great difficulty, over the tops of mountains and craggy precipices covered with snow; the rivers being at that time frozen over, but not so hard as to bear any considerable burden; he immediately set forward to Strathbogie, where Huntly then lived, attended only with a small company, and had almost come upon him before he was apprised

of his approach. Huntly was quite surprised at this unexpected visit, and upon the first notice, lest he should be drawn to a conference against his inclination, instantly fled to his castle of Bog of Gicht, situated upon the banks of the Spey; where he made a shew as if he intended to cross the river, and carry on the war by himself against the rebels in the shire of Murray.

As Huntly's conduct appears so extraordinary, it may be worth while to inquire what could prompt him to such a sullen opposition to Montrose, not only without any provocation, but even after receiving the greatest civilities and favours, very undeservedly, at his hands. And, indeed, I could never hear any other cause assigned, nor could so much as guess at any other, than a weak and impotent emulation, or rather envy, of his extraordinary reputation: for I cannot say so properly, that he was ever alienated from the king, as at constant enmity with Montrose; but the hatred he entertained of him was so unreasonable and excessive, that he chose to see the whole kingdom go to wreck, rather as any honour should redound to Montrose by preserving it; and by this means he plunged himself into an inextricable series of error and misconduct. And a conscious sense of the many injuries he had done him, and the affronts he had rubbed upon him, attended with an insufferable pride and overweening conceit of himself, was, if I am not much mistaken, the chief

cause why at this time he could not bear his presence, and frequently before had shunned an interview with him: for, besides, the particular instances we have already mentioned, both the father and son were guilty of very high indiscretions to the governor; of which, I think, it will be proper here to enumerate a few.

These cannon, which we took notice Montrose had hid last year in the ground, they dug up without his participation, and placed them upon their own castles, with no less triumph than if they had been a trophy gained from the enemy: nor would they restore them when afterwards demanded, though they were Montrose's own acquisition at the battles of Tippermoor and Aberdeen; at the first of which, there was not a single person of the clan Gordon, and at the other, Lewis Gordon and his men fought on the enemy's side. They behaved in the same manner with respect to the powder, arms, and other warlike provisions which were seized from the enemy, and deposited in their castles, as safe and convenient store-places; all which they converted to their own use, and would not return even the smallest part of it, when required. And when Lord Aboyne was on his return home after the battle of Kilsyth, he set at liberty the Earl Marischal, the Viscount of Arbuthnot, and several other men of rank and quality among the enemy, who were then in custody, without consulting or advising with the governor,

and much contrary to the opinion and advice of young Drum, his brother-in-law, who was along with him. Upon what terms he liberated these noblemen is uncertain; but this much appears evident, that, besides the indignity thereby done to the governor, the strong castle of Dunnoter, which was of very great moment in the war, and several other very considerable advantages were thereby utterly lost: for the rebels would never have dared to imbrue their hands in the blood of their prisoners, while so many principal men of their party were in custody, and in danger of having the same treatment retaliated upon them. Besides, by his own private authority, he levied taxes and subsidies on the people, which the governor himself had never done, under a pretence, indeed, of maintaining the war, but in reality for quite other purposes, much to the discredit and detriment of the king's cause. And lastly, which was most of all to be regretted, those very prisoners who were taken at the several battles in the north country, and committed to their castles, they released, some of them at the entreaty of the enemy, and others for a very insignificant ransom, thereby depriving Montrose of the disposal of his own prisoners, and frustrating his intention of exchanging them for such of his own worthy and gallant friends as had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the enemy. Conscious of the injustice he had done Montrose in these and a variety of other instances, Huntly

was afraid to see him, and had all along shunned him more than his mortal foe.

But Montrose, overlooking all these personal injuries and affronts, was solely intent upon promoting the interest of his sovereign, and the success of his affairs. In this view, he determined to force the marquis, however unwilling, to an interview; and, if possible, to sooth his exulcerated mind, and bring about a reconciliation at any rate, though by yielding to him in every thing, and indulging his most capricious demands. Accordingly, having left his army in their quarters, he set out only with a small attendance on horseback, and came to the castle of Bog of Gicht, so very early in the morning, that, by his unexpected arrival, he deprived the marquis of all hopes of escaping him, or concealing himself from him. When they met, Montrose, without taking any notice of what was past, accosted him in the most gentle and courteous manner, and entreated him to concur in the conduct of the war, that they might use their joint endeavours for the safety and preservation of the king and kingdom; and he gave him such ample satisfaction in every thing, that Huntly seemed at length thoroughly convinced, and resolved to comply with Montrose's requests; promising him not only the assistance of his whole forces, but that he would come himself upon their head, and that with all expedition. They then proceeded to consult

together concerning their future operations; and it was agreed that they should immediately advance to Inverness, and besiege that garrison, Huntly taking the right-hand road along the sea coast of Murrayshire, and Montrose marching by the left through Strathspey, which at that season of the year was by far the most difficult; and by this means straiten the garrison on both sides. And at the same time, they were to endeavour to bring over the Earl of Seaforth, either willingly or by force, to join their party. They had great hopes of soon reducing the garrison; for, however strong and well fortified it appeared to be, it was, nevertheless, but very ill stored with provisions and other necessaries, and could not easily get a supply on account of the severity of the winter, and their tempestuous sea. They seemed now to be perfectly agreed in every thing; in so much, that Lord Aboyne and his brother Lewis wished damnation to themselves if they did not from thenceforth continue firm and constant in their fidelity and attachment to Montrose all their lives. And all the Gordons conceived an incredible joy upon this occasion, and congratulated their lord and chieftain no less than if they had immediately recovered him from the dead.

CHAP. XIX.

A party of Argyle's men break into Athole.—Attacked and defeated by the Athole-men.—The covenanters condemn several of their prisoners.—Lord Ogilvy escapes.—Colonel Nathaniel Gordon, Sir Robert Spotiswood, Andrew Guthry, and William Murray, executed.

From what had passed, the Marquis of Montrose was convinced that Huntly's jealousy was at last appeased, and that he was seriously inclined to concur with him in a joint prosecution of the war. And accordingly, in pursuance of the plan of operation concerted betwixt them, he marched his forces through Strathspey towards Inverness. At the same time, in order to amuse the enemy on all sides, he sent his cousin Patrick Graham, who has been often already mentioned with honour, and John Drummond, younger of Balloch, a gentleman of great loyalty and bravery, of which he had given several specimens in Montrose's service, down to Athole, with a commission to raise and command the Athole-men, and by their assistance to suppress any rising or tumult in the bud, if such should happen in these parts. The men of Athole shewed themselves ready at the first call, and immediately enlisted under their command. They did

not wait long for an opportunity to exercise their prowess; for, the broken remains of the Argyleshire-men, who had left their own country, whether from an absolute want of provisions, or that they had been obliged to leave it for fear of Macdonald's superior power, who threatened them with fire and sword, had fallen upon the Macgregors and Macnabs, who favoured Montrose; and being afterwards joined by the Stuarts of Balquhidder, the Menzieses, and other Highlanders who yet followed Argyle's fortune, were said to make up in all a body of about fifteen hundred men, and threatened an immediate invasion of Athole, if they were not speedily opposed; for they had already taken and burnt an island situated in Lochdochart; after which they proceeded to Strathample, and had laid siege to the castle of that name. Upon advice of their proceedings, the Athole-men judged it necessary to go directly against them, and endeavour to give them a blow before they should enter Athole; and accordingly, though they amounted only to seven hundred men, they set out immediately under the command of their two leaders, Graham and Drummond. The news of the motions of the Athole-men alarmed the enemy; and they immediately thereupon raised the siege of Ample, and retired to Monteith. But the Athole-men pursued them warmly, and overtook them at Callendar, a castle in Monteith, where they found them prepared for

battle, having occupied the ford of the river, and guarded the opposite bank, which was defended by a rising ground, with a strong party of musketeers. When the Athole-men saw their disposition, and perceived that their number was much smaller than was reported, not being more than twelve hundred, though they themselves were scarce seven hundred, yet, animated with the gallant and encouraging behaviour of their two commanders, they resolved not to wait the enemy, but to begin the charge themselves. Accordingly, they stationed a party of a hundred good men opposite to the enemy's guard at the ford, as if they had intended to force it; and at the same time, the rest of their army made all haste to cross the river at another ford, which was nearer the castle; when Argyle's people saw the resolution and activity of the Athole-men, they did not abide their attack, but immediately retired towards Stirling. The party of an hundred men which was stationed at the lower ford, seeing the opposite bank deserted by the enemy, immediately crossed the river, and fell upon their rear as they went off, and killed severals: and the rest of the Athole-men, following the same course, they soon forced the whole army to a precipitate flight. The slain were reckoned to be about fourscore; and the preservation of those who escaped was in a great measure owing to the fatigue which the Athole-men underwent that morning, by a long and very difficult march of ten miles, and that they were unprovided of

horse, so that they could not follow the pursuit: And having thus executed their business successfully, they returned home.

At the same time, the covenanters held their parliament at St Andrews,* which they profaned with the innocent blood of several of their prisoners, gentlemen who, for their eminent virtue and rare endowments, merited the highest encomiums. The hatred and cruelty exercised towards them by the rebels, is a sufficient testimony of their worth and excellence; for the best men, and such as deserved the highest esteem and regard, never failed to be the objects of their greatest severity; whereas, men of inferior parts and character, they held sufficient to punish by fines and confiscations. Lord Ogilvy, Sir Robert Spotiswood, William Murray, and Andrew Guthry,† were condemned to be executed at St Andrews, that their blood might be an atonement for the death of so many of the people of that shire, of whom, it was reported, upwards of five thousand had fallen in the several battles. But as they could pretend no law to warrant their cruel proceedings, they found it necessary to recur to their wonted arts, and call in religion to their aid, in order to cloak and authorize their savage inhumanity. To this purpose they set to work their zealous orators, Cant and Blair, and such

* It sat down upon the 26th November 1645.

† He was a captain, and son to the Bishop of Murray.

others of the holy brotherhood as were endued with the same fanatical spirit, to retail from their pulpits to the implicit mob their bloody resolves, under the specious character of the absolute and irresistible decrees of heaven. They said, that God required the blood of these men, nor could the sins of the nation be otherwise expiated, or the wrath of heaven diverted. By these means they brought the generality of the people, otherwise inclined to pity and commiseration, to consider them as accursed things, and devoted to destruction; and that, as they were the objects of God's wrath and indignation, they were not, therefore, entitled to the protection of the laws, or the common offices of humanity. Yea, such was their arrogance, that, as if they had been privy to the councils of God, or the dispensers of his vengeance to the world, they presumed to pronounce upon their future state, and doomed them, both soul and body, to eternal torments. Having thus sufficiently debauched the minds of the people, it was no difficult task for them, who were at the same time both accusers and judges, to procure the condemnation of these gentlemen, however innocent, being thus destitute of all assistance or protection.

But the Lord Ogilvy made his escape by the following stratagem. He pretended to be sick, and applied for liberty to his mother, lady, and sisters, to visit him in prison, and attend him in his illness. This favour he obtained with no small

difficulty, by the interest of the Hamiltons, (to whose family he was related by the mother's side,) and of Lord Lindsay, who was his cousin. After they got admittance to him, as the guards had retired from his chamber out of respect and deference to the ladies, he embraced that opportunity, and dressed himself in his sister's clothes; she, at the same time, put on his night-cap, and lay down in bed in place of her brother; and, after wishing one another a hearty good-night, they parted, apparently in great concern, about eight o'clock in the evening; and thus, under the appearance of his sister, he deceived the guards who lighted him out. He immediately departed the town, and, having horses laid ready waiting him, mounted directly, attended only by two persons, and got safely out of all danger before day-break. Next morning, when the deceit was discovered by the guards, Argyle was highly enraged at being thus disappointed of the satisfaction he had proposed to himself in the ignominious death of his mortal enemy; insomuch that he even insisted on the immediate punishment of the noble ladies, for the laudable part they had acted in favouring his escape. But they were protected from the effects of his brutal revenge by the interest of the Hamiltons and the Lord Lindsay; with whose privacy and connivance it was generally thought this whole matter had been conducted.

The indignation and displeasure expressed by

the covenanters upon this occasion was immoderate, and looked like a frenzy or madness. However, they determined to make sure of the rest, and ordered them out to immediate execution. The first who mounted the scaffold was Colonel Nathaniel Gordon,* a man of excellent endowments, both of body and mind. When he saw death so near, he lamented bitterly over the vices and follies of his youth; and his murderers presenting to him an instrument to sign, testifying his repentance, he signed it without hesitation; but at the same time called God and his angels, and all who were present, to witness, that, if there was any thing in that paper dishonourable to the king, or derogatory to his authority, he absolutely disowned it. Then being absolved from the sentence of excommunication, under which he lay for an adultery, whereof he had been guilty long before, he was beheaded, not without the greatest pity and commiseration of the beholders; for, though he was indeed guilty of that crime, yet was he famous for his military skill and valour, of which he had given very singular proofs both abroad and at home.

The next person who graced the scaffold, yet reeking with the blood of Colonel Gordon, was Sir Robert Spotiswood, a man worthy of everlasting renown. His singular merit had introduced

* January 6, 1646.

him to the favour and good graces of his two sovereigns, King James and King Charles; and he had been advanced by them to very great honours, having been knighted and made a privy-counsellor by King James, and promoted by King Charles to be President of the Court of Session, and a short time before was made Principal Secretary of State for Scotland. Though there was nothing in the whole tenor of this great man's life which his bitterest enemies could challenge, yet they brought an accusation of treason against him, notwithstanding that he never was in arms against them, nor had ever meddled with warlike matters, the arts of peace, and the maintaining and cultivating it, having been his constant business, and in which he had acquired no small reputation. The only crime, therefore, which they could lay to his charge, was, that, at his majesty's desire, he had brought down his commission to Montrose, constituting him lieutenant-governor and captain-general of the kingdom. He made a very learned and eloquent defence against this accusation, wherein he proved, by a variety of arguments, that he had done nothing but what was supported by former practice, and the spirit of our laws. This satisfied all the world besides, and would have acquitted him before any other tribunal but this, which was composed of his mortal enemies, who were resolved, without the least regard to justice or equity, to put him to death. He was, in truth, oppressed by a

load of malice and envy, under which all his innocence could not support him. For when the king, who had always been extremely kind and bountiful to the family of Hamilton, was obliged, by the defection of the Earl of Lanark to the covenanters, to take from this ungrateful man the office of secretary of state for Scotland, which he then enjoyed, he could not find a more worthy person on whom to confer this dignity than Sir Robert; and hence sprung that load of malice and revenge to which he fell a sacrifice.

When he was brought to the scaffold, he appeared with the same gravity and majesty which was familiar to him, and turned with great composure to speak to the people: but Blair the minister, who officiously attended him on the scaffold, being afraid lest he might lay open the secrets of the rebellion, and that the firm and steady behaviour, and the eloquence and gravity of the last and dying words of so great a man, might leave a deep impression on the minds of the hearers, caused the provost of the town, who had formerly been a servant of Sir Robert's father, impose silence upon him. This unmannerly interruption gave him no disturbance, only, instead of addressing himself to the people, he turned his thoughts entirely to his private devotions. And in these also he was again most impertinently and rudely interrupted by Blair, who asked him, whether he would incline that he and the people should pray for the salva-

tion of his soul? To which he answered, That he desired the prayers of the people, but would have no concern with his prayers, which he believed were impious, and an abomination unto God; adding, that of all the plagues with which the offended majesty of God had scourged this nation, this was certainly by far the greatest, greater than even the sword, fire, or pestilence; that for the sins of the people God had sent a lying spirit into the mouths of the prophets. Blair was touched to the quick with this severe, but just reproach, and fell into such a passion, that he could not refrain from throwing out the most scandalous and contumelious reflections, not only against Sir Robert's father, who had been long dead, but against himself, who was just about to die; thereby approving himself a worthy preacher of Christian patience and long-suffering! But Sir Robert, having his mind intent upon higher matters, took no notice of them, and bore them with the greatest meekness and resignation. At last, with an undaunted air, and shewing no alteration either in voice or countenance, he submitted his neck to the fatal stroke, and uttered these his last words, "Merciful Jesus, gather my soul unto thy saints and martyrs, who have run before me in this race." And, certainly, seeing martyrdom may be undergone, not only for the confession of our faith, but for any virtue by which holy men manifest their

faith to the world, there is no doubt but he hath received that crown. *

Such was the fatal end of this great man, highly honourable indeed to himself, but extremely lamented by all good men. He was remarkable for his deep knowledge of things, both divine and humane; for his skill in the Hebrew, Chaldaic, Syriac, and Arabic, besides the western languages, and an intimate acquaintance with history, law, and politics. He was the honour and ornament of his country and the age, for the integrity of his life, for his fidelity, for his justice, and for his constancy. He was a man of an even temper, ever consistent with himself; so that his youth had no need to be ashamed of his childhood, nor his more advanced years of his youth. He was a strict observer of the ancient worship; and yet not a vain and superstitious professor of it before the world: a man easy to be made a friend, but very hard to be made an enemy; in so much, that after his death, he was exceedingly regretted even by many of the covenanters.

His lifeless body was taken care of by Hugh Scrimgeour, an old servant of his father, and buried privately, nor did he long survive the

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* In some translations of these Memoirs, Sir Robert Spotiswood's last speech is here introduced. See it in the Appendix.

doleful office, for, not many days after, seeing the bloody scaffold, upon which Sir Robert suffered, not yet removed out of the place, he immediately fell into a swoon, and being carried home by his servants and neighbours, died at his own threshold.

To Sir Robert Spotiswood they joined another companion in death, Andrew Guthry, son to the worthy Bishop of Murray, and on that account the more hateful to the covenanters. He was a young man of great bravery and courage; and shewed no less constancy and resolution in despising and suffering death. Blair assaulted him likewise with his insolent threats and scurrilities. To these he answered, that he reckoned it the greatest honour he could receive to suffer death in behalf of so good a king, and in defence of so just a cause; which all present should see he would embrace without fear, and posterity perhaps would report not without praise; for his sins, he humbly begged mercy and forgiveness at the hands of the most gracious God; but with respect to that crime for which he stood condemned, he was under no apprehensions. He encountered death with the greatest fortitude and resolution; having justly deserved a longer life, had Almighty God so thought fit.

And now to put the last scene to this cruel tragedy, after two days breathing they presented, upon the same bloody theatre, William Murray,

brother to the Earl of Tullibardine. Every body was surprised that the earl, who was in great favour and esteem with the covenanters, had not interceded with them for the life and safety of his only brother. * Some imputed this to his indolence and inactivity; others to his avarice, as aiming at his brother's patrimony; and others to his stupid and superstitious zeal to the cause. However, all men, even the covenanters themselves, condemned his silence upon this occasion as highly indecent and dishonourable. The young gentleman, though hardly nineteen years of age, purchased to himself everlasting renown with posterity by such an honourable and becoming exit. He spoke a few things to the spectators, among which he repeated what follows with a higher tone of voice than the rest, as it was reported to me by those who heard him. "I hope, my countrymen, you will reckon that the house of Tullibardine, and the whole family of Murray, have this day acquired a new and no small addition of honour; that a young man, descended of that ancient race, has, though innocent, and in the flower of his age, with the greatest readiness and cheerfulness, delivered up his life for his king, the father of his

* Bishop Guthrie relates that the earl was not only silent in his brother's behalf, but by his forwardness contributed his utmost to bring about his and the condemnation of the other prisoners.—*Memoirs*, p. 206.

country, and the most munificent patron and benefactor of that family from which he is sprung. Let not my honoured mother, my dearest sisters, my kindred, or my friends, lament the shortness of my life, seeing that it is abundantly recompensed by the honour of my death. Pray for my soul, and God be with you."

CHAP. XX.

Montrose solicited by his army to execute his prisoners, in revenge of the death of his friends; but refuses.—Huntly again disappoints him.—Montrose lays siege to Inverness; but is obliged to raise it, and retires before Middleton.—He endeavours to obtain a conference with Huntly, which he shuns.—Huntly takes in the city of Aberdeen.

The melancholy fate of his friends gave Montrose very great concern; however, it could not shake his constancy and firm resolution of mind, though at no time before it ever received a more severe trial. At the critical moment, while his heart was bleeding for his friends, great numbers in his army, exasperated with the accounts of their disgraceful death, endeavoured what they could to spirit him up to an immediate revenge; they importuned him with the strongest and most earnest solicitations; and while they indulged a just and well founded grief for their friends, they imagined their demand was no more than equitable to insist that he should retaliate the same treatment upon the enemy. While their own friends and relations, men of eminent worth and bravery, and who merited highly for their services to the king, the country, and of the governor himself,

were, notwithstanding the quarter and assurances of safety pledged them, contrary to the custom of war, to the laws of the country, yea to the laws of nature and nations, butchered unrevenged, they were enraged to see such of the rebels as were taken by themselves in battle, kept, not as prisoners, but entertained in a friendly and hospitable manner, and wantonly rejoicing and insulting over the cause of their grief; they insisted, therefore, to have them immediately brought out to execution, as the only effectual method to deter the enemy from practising such cruelty, and to satisfy the impatience of their own people, and confirm them in their duty and obedience. He received their complaints with great condescension, and commended the regard and affection they expressed for their friends: he agreed with them that the death of such worthy and innocent subjects ought not to pass unrevenged; but then it ought to be revenged by them in a manner becoming good and brave men; not by cruelty and inhumanity, the characteristics of their wicked enemies, in which their example was by no means to be followed, but by fair and open war, in which they were to endeavour to vanquish them. He desired them seriously to consider, how great would be the injustice to make those prisoners, who were guiltless of the murders committed by their party, suffer the punishment of others crimes; especially when assurances of safety had been given them, which ought to be most sacredly observed,

even to an enemy. He hoped they would never incur this imputation, which was the very iniquity they exclaimed against with so much abhorrence in their enemies. They needed not doubt but the time would certainly come when these rebellious subjects must answer for their crimes to the just God, and to the king his vicegerent on earth. "And in the mean time," says he, "let them set a price upon our heads; let them employ assassins to murder us; let them break their faith, and practise the utmost pitch of wickedness; yet shall that never induce us to forsake the glorious paths of virtue and goodness, or strive to outdo them in the practice of villany and barbarity."

The Marquis of Huntly, who, it would appear, had never intended to perform these promises which he had made to Montrose, having crossed the Spey, entered Murray, where he trifled away his time and diminished his forces, without either honour or advantage; and never came near Inverness. His chief aim was to amass plunder; and after he had wasted all the country, having heard an uncertain report, that the people of that shire had concealed their money and more valuable furniture in some little obscure castles, he went immediately and besieged them, though to no purpose; nor could he by any commands or entreaties from Montrose be prevailed upon to desist from his enterprise. In the mean time, the enemy had full opportunity to throw provisions into Inverness

from that side on which he had undertaken to block it up, and supplied it besides with every thing necessary for its relief; which if he had prevented, as he promised to Montrose, the garrison had very soon been obliged to surrender.

Montrose having received intelligence that General Middleton, afterwards created Earl of Middleton by King Charles the Second, was advanced as far as Aberdeen with an army of six hundred horse and eight hundred foot, and seemed to threaten the plundering of the country belonging to Huntly and the Gordons, he sent Colonel William Stewart with a message to Huntly, to entreat him to return again and attempt the siege of Inverness, as he had promised; or in case he thought it imprudent to march so far from home, when the enemy was so near his territories, that he would at least come and join him with his forces, that they might march directly and attack Middleton, whom he expected they would easily defeat. To this Huntly returned a most disdainful answer, That he would mind his own business himself, and needed not Montrose's assistance or direction to drive the enemy out of his grounds. After ten weeks spent in the siege of an inconsiderable little castle, in which he lost the flower of his army, he was forced at last to raise the siege with disgrace, and retired to the Spey, without the consent or knowledge of the governor, thereby expressing an apparent contempt, not so much of Montrose, as

of the king himself, and an utter disregard of his service, to the no small discouragement of the loyal party, who were now become numerous, and declared themselves very warmly for the royal cause.

Among these, the most eminent for wealth and power, and the number of followers, were the Earl of Seaforth, and Lord Rea, Sir James Macdonald from the Isles, chief of a very ancient family, and the most powerful clan in the Highlands, Maclean, Glengary, the Captain of Clanronald, and several others, some of whom were already in Montrose's army with their forces, and others had sent home for theirs ; so that, before the end of March, he expected to have fallen down into the low country, at the head of a greater army than had been seen in Scotland in the memory of man. But the unexpected revolt of so great a man as Huntly, besides that it gave an additional encouragement to the rebels, dispirited the royalists, and terrified them so much, that even those who had already joined the army, began privately to withdraw, and others to pretend excuses for their delay.

These things obliged Montrose to resolve upon other measures. Seeing he found that gentleness and good offices made no impression upon the fickle and inconstant minds of these men, he resolved to reduce them to obedience by the exercise of his own authority as governor and captain-general, supported by force of arms and the severest

discipline. And for this end he proposed to march into their country with a choice body of trusty men, and compel all the Highlanders and north countrymen to take up arms. He very well knew there were severals of the governors and leading men in these shires, and many of the chiefs of the clans, who inclined to his side, and would approve of these measures. Nay, he made no question but the chief and most powerful of the Gordons, being heartily wearied with Huntly's miscarriages and unaccountable conduct, would lend him their assistance if there was occasion, even contrary to the inclinations of their chieftain. However, he was resolved to use all the gentle means possible, before he made trial of this last and severest remedy.

But, as Inverness was the most considerable and important garrison in all the north country, and the harbour the most convenient for receiving foreign assistance, he wished, above all things, to reduce it. And as the covenanters' army, under the command of General Middleton, was above eighty miles distant, and Huntly and the Gordons lay in a body half way betwixt them, he thought he might safely attempt it; and therefore laid siege to it with what forces he had. At this time he made another essay upon Huntly, and entreated him not to spend the time idly, but to come and assist him with his forces in carrying on the siege of Inverness, agreeable to their former concert: or, at least, that he would hover about the fords of the

Spey, where it was probable the enemy would endeavour to cross it, and repulse them in the attempt, should they advance to raise the siege: or, if they should happen to cross the river, that he should immediately come and join him, so as they might fight them with their united force. To all this he returned such disdainful and contemptuous answers, that the governor at length absolutely dispaired of ever succeeding with him; and began now to think it high time to look more carefully to his own safety, lest Huntly's malice might at last carry him the length even to betray him. Accordingly, without any reliance upon him, he dispatched three troops of horse to lie at the fords of the Spey, and carefully observe the enemy; with orders, if they approached, to send him frequent and sure intelligence of their motions. They accordingly went and occupied the most convenient stations for their purpose, and watched very diligently for some time; till Lewis Gordon, Huntly's son, who then kept the castle of Rothes with a garrison, having contrived a more shameful piece of villany than any he had been hitherto guilty of, assured the officers of these troops that the enemy was at a very great distance, and had no intention to pass the river, or to attempt to raise the siege: he therefore desired them to give over their watching, which was to no purpose; and, with the greatest shew of kindness and civility, invited them to his castle to refresh them-

selves, and partake of an entertainment which he had prepared for them. As they took him for a faithful friend, they did not at all distrust him, and readily accepted of his invitation. He entertained them very elegantly and sumptuously; and besides a great store of good dishes, he plied them very heartily with wine and spirits; and detained them with the greatest shew of jollity and hospitality, till such time as Middleton had crossed the Spey with a very strong army of horse and foot, and penetrated far into Murray, of which as soon as he was informed, he dismissed his guests with these jeering words: "Go, return to your general Montrose, who will now have hotter work than he had at Selkirk." The enemy were in the meantime marching up with such rapidity towards Montrose, that these troops of horse got the start of them with great difficulty, and arrived at Inverness but a very little before them; so that they seemed to be the enemy's van-guard, Middleton's whole army following them within cannon-shot. Montrose had very providentially got information of their approach some other way, and had drawn off his forces to a little distance from the town into one body. When he perceived that the enemy were much superior by their horse, he avoided the plain ground, and withdrew his army to the other side of the Ness. The enemy attacked his rear as he went off; but being gallantly received, they were forced to stop. The loss was very inconsiderable, and

pretty near equal on both sides. Montrose passed by Beauly into Ross-shire, whither the enemy followed him, with an intention to force him to an engagement in the plain grounds, where he would have had the disadvantage; but, besides that the enemy's strength was far superior to his, he could not rely upon the fidelity of the country people, and Seaforth's new raised men were deserting in great numbers, which made him see the necessity of disengaging himself from the enemy's horse as fast as possible; wherefore, passing by Lochness, he marched through Strathglass and Strath-harrig, and came to the banks of the Spey.

He had resolved to treat Huntly as a public enemy, if he did not alter his conduct; but would still once more try every gentle method to bring him to a better mind. For this purpose, taking with him only one troop of horse for his life-guard, he rode with all speed to his house of Bog of Gicht, which was twenty miles off; and in his way sent off a messenger to advertise him of his coming, and inform him, that he had come in such haste, and without any force, merely to pay his compliments to him, and to consult with him concerning the king's service; for which he was the more earnest, having just then received some letters from his majesty at Oxford, which he wanted to communicate to him. But Huntly, terrified with the first notice of his coming, and not daring to encounter the presence of so great a man, im-

mediately mounted on horseback, and rode off, attended only by one servant, without vouchsafing his majesty's deputy-governor the favour of a conference, or the smallest entertainment at his house. How soon Montrose understood that he was gone off, he returned back these twenty miles that same day, which was the twenty-seventh of May; and was extremely careful to conceal this froward behaviour, for fear of the bad consequences it might produce if publicly known. However, his precaution was to no purpose; for the Gordons themselves, and others of Huntly's own friends, who were gentlemen of great worth and probity, in order to acquit themselves of the imputation of any accession to, or approbation of such disgraceful conduct, published the whole matter with the highest indignation, and not without severe imprecations against their lord and chief.

It is not easy to say how much his conduct staggered the resolutions of the rest of the north country gentlemen. The Earl of Seaforth, who was but lately, and not without great difficulty, brought to join the loyal party, begun to falter, and some people pretended to say, that, not being yet quite resolved, he was, at this very time, in a private treaty for making up his peace with the covenanters; which, however, I do not believe. Sir Alexander Macdonald likewise, though often and earnestly entreated to return, yet, from day to day, made trifling and silly excuses for his delay, which gave

occasion to various and doubtful reports concerning him; as that, notwithstanding he was an irreconcileable enemy to Argyle, yet he held a private correspondence with the Hamiltons, upon whose friendship and patronage he relied, and therefore staid at home, solely intent upon the private affairs of the Macdonalds, without giving himself any concern for the public.

All these things considered, Montrose thought that no time was to be lost in executing his design of making a tour in person through all the north country, and the Highlands. He proposed to carry along with him a resolute and expeditious party, and to raise new forces as he went along, giving all due encouragement to those who shewed themselves ready and forward, but exercising the full severity of the laws and immediate punishment upon such as were backward and refractory; thereby compelling them to their duty, as sickly children must be constrained to take medicines for their health. He was encouraged to take this course by the advice of many of his friends, who also promised their utmost assistance to enable him to go through with it.

While matters stood thus about Inverness, the Marquis of Huntly, that he might not seem never to have done any thing merely by his own conduct, or without Montrose's assistance, besieged and took Aberdeen, * which Middleton then kept with a

* May 14, 1646.

garrison of five hundred men; but with much greater hurt to his own friends than to the enemy; for, besides the loss of many of his own brave men, he gave his Highlanders leave to pillage the city. Now, in what respect these innocent people had failed in their duty either to the king or to Huntly, is not easy to conjecture, when it is considered, that no city in Scotland had shewn greater testimonies of their fidelity and loyalty than the city of Aberdeen. On the other hand, he had taken a good many prisoners, and those of considerable note, among the enemy; but his treatment of them was more like one making his court to them than in the style of a conqueror, for he dismissed them all without any promise or condition, though there were among them several colonels and gentlemen of rank, who happened accidentally to be in Aberdeen at the time, and who might have been exchanged for a like number of his own friends, many of whom were kept in close durance both in Scotland and England; but he was always more ready to do good offices to his declared enemies than to his real friends.

CHAP. XXI.

Montrose receives orders from the king to disband his army.—Demands a second order.—Which is sent him, with conditions for himself and his friends.—Whereupon he disbands his army.—The covenanters endeavour to ensnare him.—He and his friends sail for Norway.

While Montrose was intent on his design of recruiting his army, upon the last of May there arrived a messenger to him from the king, who had unfortunately thrown himself upon the army of the Scots covenanters at Newcastle, with orders to disband his forces immediately, and withdraw himself into France, and there wait his majesty's further orders. Montrose was shocked at this unexpected message; he saw the king's affairs now brought to a crisis, and bitterly lamented his unlucky fate, which had forced him into the hands of his most inveterate enemies; and though he made no doubt but these orders had been extorted from him, through force and threats, by the covenanters, who now had him in their power, yet he was at a loss what course to follow. If he should yield an implicit obedience, and lay down his arms, then the lives and fortunes, both of himself

and his friends would be at the mercy and discretion of their enemies; and confiscations and halters were only to be expected: on the other hand, should he stand out contrary to the king's express commands, he would thereby become guilty of rebellion, the very crime which he so much abhorred, and had endeavoured to punish in others; besides, he was much afraid, that whatever he might do would be imputed by the rebels to the king, who, being in their power, might meet with worse treatment from them on that account, a thing which the king himself had dreaded, and hinted to him in his letters.

Montrose, therefore, resolved to call together all the noblemen, gentlemen, and chieftains of his side, that a matter of such importance, and which so nearly concerned them all, might be debated and determined by general consent. For this end, without regarding the many injuries and affronts he had received, he dispatched Sir John Urry and Sir John Innes, two persons of the most eminent character in his army, and who he thought would be the most acceptable to Huntly, to invite him to this council, with orders to leave the appointing of the time and place to Huntly himself, and to assure him that Montrose would even wait upon him at his own castle if he pleased. Huntly returned for answer, that he had himself received orders from the king to the same purpose, which he was resolved implicitly to obey, for that the

king's commands were of such a nature as not to admit of second thoughts, or to leave any room for doubt or consultation. The gentlemen remonstrated, that perhaps Montrose was of the very same opinion, and that he was ready to yield a prompt obedience to all the king's orders, providing they proceeded from himself, without being extorted; but, in the mean time, it much concerned them all timeously to provide for their own safety, and that of their men, and that their enemies would conceive a much higher opinion of them, when they saw them acting in concert, and with firm and united counsels. To which he made no other answer, than that he had already resolved what course to take, and would have nothing to do with any body else.

Montrose thereupon wrote to the king, begging earnestly to be informed of his condition in the covenanters' army, if he thought himself safe in their custody; and whether his service could be of any further use to him? And, if he had positively determined, that that army which had hitherto fought for his preservation, was to be immediately disbanded, while the covenanters in both kingdoms were still in arms, and growing every day more and more outrageous, he wanted to be advised what course should be taken for the security of the lives and fortunes of these brave and loyal men, who had spent their blood, and risked every thing that was dear for his sake; for he was shock-

ed at the thoughts of leaving such worthy subjects to be plundered and butchered at the mercy of their enemies.

Montrose received no other answer by his messenger, to these letters, but certain articles prescribed him by the covenanters, in which he was desired to acquiesce; but as these were dictated by an enemy, and in themselves extremely unreasonable, he rejected them with indignation; and, disdaining to treat at all with the covenanters, he sent the messenger back to signify to the king, that, as he had taken up arms by the commission and at the desire of his majesty himself, so he would receive conditions for laying them down from no mortal but the king alone; and therefore he humbly besought his majesty, if it seemed proper to him that he should immediately disband his forces, that he would himself prescribe and sign the articles, to which, however severe and disagreeable, he promised an implicit submission, but he scorned the commands of every body else, whoever they were.

The messenger at last returned with the articles signed with the king's own hand, and orders, now repeated for the third time, to disband his army without further delay, under the pain of high treason if he any longer disobeyed the king's commands. Besides the king's positive orders, another thing induced him to come to a speedy resolution; he was informed, that many of those who had en-

gaged with him, were endeavouring secretly by their friends to make their own terms with the rebels; and he had undoubted evidence, that this was true with respect to the Earl of Seaforth and several others: and the Marquis of Huntly, and his son Lord Aboyne, did not only profess themselves to be Montrose's declared enemies, but even threatened to compel him by force of arms immediately to comply with the king's orders. At the same time the Earl of Antrim, who had newly come from Ireland into the Highlands of Scotland, without men or arms, was endeavouring to recal all the Highlanders, over whom he pretended some authority and influence, as being his relations and allies, from Montrose's army, whom, by way of derision, he called the governor of the low country; an attempt very unseasonable at that time, and which proved afterwards very destructive to his friends in those parts. All these things considered, Montrose saw himself obliged to submit to the king's commands, and to disband his army.

Accordingly, having convened them to a rendezvous,* after giving them their due praise for their faithful services and good behaviour, he told them his orders, and bid them farewell, an event no less sorrowful to the whole army than to himself; and, notwithstanding he used his utmost en-

* At Rattray, upon the 30th July 1646.

deavours to raise their drooping spirits, and encourage them with the flattering prospect of a speedy and desirable peace, and assured them, that he contributed to the king's safety and interest by his present ready submission, no less than he had formerly done by his military attempts; yet they concluded, that a period was that day put to the king's authority, which would expire with the dissolution of their army, for disbanding of which, they were all convinced the orders had been extorted from the king, or granted by him on purpose to evite a greater and more immediate evil. And, upon whatever favourable conditions their own safety might be provided for, yet they lamented their own fate, and would much rather have undergone the greatest fatigue and hardships, than be obliged to remain inactive and idle spectators of the miseries and calamities befalling their dearest sovereign. Neither were their generous souls a little concerned for the unworthy and disgraceful opinion, which foreign nations and after-ages could not fail to conceive of the Scots, as universally dipt in rebellion, and guilty of defection from the best of kings. Their sorrow was likewise considerably augmented, by the thoughts of being separated from their brave and successful general, who was now obliged to enter into a kind of banishment, to the irreparable loss of the king, the country, themselves, and all good men, at a time when they never had greater occasion for his service: And, falling

down upon their knees, with tears in their eyes, they obtested him, that, seeing the king's safety and interest required his immediate departure from the kingdom, he would take them along with him to whatever corner of the world he should retire, professing their readiness to live, to fight, nay, if it so pleased God, even to die under his command. And not a few of them had privately determined, though with the evident risk of their lives and fortunes, to follow him without his knowledge, and even against his inclination, and to offer him their service in a foreign land, which they could not any longer afford him in their own distressed native country.

These things happened about the end of July, and by the conditions which were prescribed him by the king, with the consent of the covenanters, he was obliged to transport himself beyond sea before the 1st of September, the estates being to furnish him a vessel, and to victual and provide it in all necessary stores, and to send it to the harbour of Montrose in Angus, where he was to embark. Accordingly, to prevent all jealousies, or cause of complaint, he repaired thither to wait the ship's arrival, accompanied only by his own servants, and a very few of his friends.

His implacable enemies were at this time at great pains to raise and propagate a false and malicious report through the country, as if the estates (for so they were pleased to call themselves) would

not permit a man of his worth and excellence to be banished the country, when his presence was likely to be so necessary ; especially if their gracious sovereign, who had cast himself freely upon the affections of his Scots subjects, should, in order to obtain justice from the English, be obliged to have recourse to force of arms, and, in that case, he had a general, in the person of Montrose, whom no age could parallel. Such, indeed, was the earnest wish of great numbers, who were not admitted into the secret plots of the rebels ; but their intentions were very different, and of a most villanous and deceitful nature. The deplorable event soon after demonstrated what they intended towards the king ; and, with respect to Montrose, they practised these shameless artifices on purpose to ensnare him,—and, by enticing him, from the flattering but delusive hopes that these reports were well-founded, to remain in the kingdom beyond the limited time, they expected they would have an excuse to cut him off with a better grace, as guilty of a breach of the articles.

The month of August was almost spent, and there were not the smallest accounts of a vessel, or other provision made for his transportation. Wherefore Montrose, though he was fully resolved to depart against the day fixed by the king, yet he allowed his friends to treat with the covenanters for a prolongation of the time limited for his departure, in order thereby, if possible, to sound the

bottom of their intentions, but when he found that they returned nothing but doubtful and evasive answers, he justly concluded they aimed only to deceive and ensnare him. What greatly increased his suspicion, was the arrival of a vessel at the harbour of Montrose upon the last day of August, the utmost period appointed for his stay. The shipmaster was not only unknown to him, but a violent and rigid covenanter; the sailors were of the same stamp, sullen and morose, and from whom the worst treatment was to be expected; and the ship itself was neither victualled, nor in proper trim to go to sea: so that when Montrose shewed himself ready to go a-board, and ordered them to depart with all dispatch, the shipmaster told him, he behoved to have some days to careen his vessel, before he durst put out to sea; and vaunting of his own worth, and of the sufficiency of his vessel, he at last disclosed the commission which he had from the covenanters, whereby he was expressly ordered to land his passengers at certain ports appointed by them, and at no other. At the same time, there were several English men of war constantly plying off the mouth of the river Esk, which forms the harbour of Montrose, watching for the prey they so greedily desired, that he might have no chance to escape their snares.

However, their treacherous purposes were not unknown to Montrose; and he wanted not some friends even among the covenanters themselves,

who sent him repeated notice, that the sea was almost covered with the English navy, so that he could not possibly escape safe either into France or the Low Countries; that the harbour itself, from which he was to sail, was in a manner blocked up, whereby his venturing to sea was a matter of very great risk, and that his enemies wished for nothing more, than either that the Scots covenanters might have a pretence to destroy him for continuing too long in the country, or that he might be surprised, and fall into the hands of the English covenanters on his departure.

Such of his friends as were still about him were of opinion, that, when the danger was so great, the most advisable course he could possibly take, was to retire immediately into the Highlands, and endeavour again to rally his forces, and rather try the fortune of war than trust to a perfidious peace; but the regard and ardent affection he bore the king, made him reject this advice; for he was fully persuaded, that, should he renew the war, it would be imputed, however unjustly, to the king, and would undoubtedly bring him into the most imminent danger, perhaps even to the risk of his life. Being thus straitened on all sides, alarmed on the one hand with treachery intended against his own, on the other, against the sacred life of the king himself, he determined, with a firm and unalterable resolution, to expose himself alone to

the danger, and draw down the whole storm on his own head.

This resolution, however, to withdraw and leave the kingdom, was not the effect of a sudden gust of passion, or of an absolute despair of safety, but proceeded from serious deliberation, and was managed with the greatest prudence and caution; for how soon he saw through the insidious designs of his enemies, he immediately sent to search all the harbours on the north coast, with directions, if any foreign vessel was found there, to agree with the master to be ready against a certain day, to transport such passengers as should be offered him to Norway. By good fortune there was found in the harbour of Stonehyve a small pinnace belonging to Bergen in Norway, the master of which readily embraced the offer, in hopes of a considerable freight, and promised to be ready against the day appointed. Thither Montrose sent Sir John Urry, John Drummond of Balloch, Henry Graham, his own brother; John Spotiswood, nephew to the great, but unfortunate, Sir Robert; John Lilly and Patrick Melvil, both of them officers of known courage and experience; George Wishart, doctor of divinity; David Guthry, a very brave young gentleman; Pardus Lasound, a Frenchman, formerly a servant to the noble Lord Gordon, and, after his death, entertained by Montrose for the sake of his worthy master; one Rodolph, a German, a youth of great probity and honour; and a

few common servants. These he had picked out to carry along with him wherever he should go, chiefly because he knew they were so obnoxious to the covenanters, that they could not possibly remain safe in the country behind him. They put to sea, and began their voyage for Norway, with a fair wind, upon the 3d of September; and that same evening, Montrose himself, accompanied only with James Wood, a worthy preacher, by the assistance of a small fly-boat, got aboard a bark which lay at anchor without the harbour of Montrose, and, being clad in a coarse suit, passed for his chaplain's servant. This was in the year of our Lord 1646, and of his age the thirty-fourth.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

MARQUIS OF MONTROSE.

PART II.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

MARQUIS OF MONTROSE.

CHAP. I.

Montrose lands in Norway.—Sets out for France.—The courtiers about the queen endeavour to prevent his coming to court.—The reasons of Lord Jermyn's opposition to him.—His advice to the queen.—She is reconciled to the Presbyterians.

The Marquis of Montrose having landed at Bergen in Norway, was kindly received, and had the highest respect shown him by Thomas Gray, a Scotsman, then governor of the castle. After resting here a few days, he travelled by land to Christiana,* the chief city of the kingdom: this journey was both difficult and dangerous, having to pass over the tops of high and rugged mountains, frightful to look at, and constantly deep with

* It was formerly called Anslo, but being burnt, was rebuilt in 1614, by Christian IV. who, on that account, gave it his own name.

snow. Then at Maelstrand he went aboard a ship bound for Denmark, being extremely desirous to see the late illustrious king, Christian V. who was uncle by the mother's side to his royal master King Charles, and had always shown himself his sure and faithful friend; but, upon his arrival in Denmark, he found the king was then in Germany; and, therefore, with all speed, crossing the Baltic, he set out thither, and, taking that opportunity, he passed through Holstein, and stopt some time at Hamburgh.

He foresaw that the conspirators among the Scots peers, who had the chief command of the army at Newcastle, would not be long ere they came to an agreement with their associates in England, in concerting measures for ruining the king, and weakening his authority; and he used to say, that he so thoroughly knew the temper of these men, that no arguments would ever induce him to alter his opinion of them. Now, he was persuaded, that if an account of their proceedings could reach France before his arrival there, it would contribute considerably to the success of his negociations; and that their having accomplished their wicked designs would procure him a more favourable reception from those princes and states with whom the king had given him a commission to negociate; and he expected that they would be so shocked at the grossness of their rebellion, as never more to trust the perfidious promises of these traitors,

which had gained but too much credit with them all along.

Besides, he knew from former experience, that he would meet with a new set of enemies, and a fresh opposition at court; and that the court-flatterers and parasites, that abandoned race of mortals, the pest and destruction of princes, by their usual false insinuations and slanderous detractions, which they propagated for promoting their measures, in order to curry favour with the rebels, to whom they were obnoxious, would endeavour by all means to prevent his gaining the queen's favour and confidence; and, if possible, would preclude him from their councils, and keep him ignorant of the state of affairs, from an apprehension that he would discover their deceitful artifices, and frustrate the designs of the rebels; whereby they might come to be disappointed of the base reward of their treachery.

At length, receiving the melancholy news that a considerable sum of money was paid to the chiefs of the Scots covenanters, under the denomination of pay or arrears, due for the worst of services, (for under that name they expected in some measure to varnish over the infamy of their ignominious bargain,) and that the king was at the same time delivered up to the brutality of the English army; he made the best of his way for Holland, judging that the king's present condition and his own honour required that he should show himself public-

ly, and endeavour to do something towards the recovery of the desperate state of affairs; for, the more these *saints* contributed to oppress that excellent prince, and lessen the authority of kings, the more resolute was he to assert the liberty, and restore the dignity of his sovereign; for the barbarous actions of these men served only so much the more to confirm the loyalty, and increase the fortitude of this hero.

Mary, Queen of Great Britain, and daughter of Henry IV. King of France, had retired to Paris, where she found a safe retreat indeed for herself; but all her solicitations for succours to the king her husband were unsuccessful. For, though the case of King Charles seemed to be the common concern of all crowned heads, and the rebellion of his British subjects set a very bad example and pattern for other nations to copy after, and in particular threatened the kingdom of France, yet very few princes could be induced to afford even the smallest assistance to King Charles in his distress. The French, whether from a remembrance of the ancient enmity that subsisted betwixt the two nations, or that they imagined the king had shown a greater propensity to cultivate the friendship and alliance of the King of Spain, or from whatever other cause they were disobliged, beheld with pleasure the distractions in Britain, and contributed their endeavours rather to increase that flame, which perhaps may one day scorch themselves.

The news that Montrose was on his journey through Flanders in his way to France, had scarce reached Paris, when these industrious and artful courtiers about the queen, who feared nothing so much as Montrose's presence, used all means possible to divert him from coming forward; and for that purpose John Ashburnham, a gentleman of the king's bed-chamber, and who had been his unfortunate companion and guide, first to the Scots army, and afterwards to the Isle of Wight, was dispatched with letters to him, in order to advise his taking another course. When he met Montrose, he began to persuade him to return directly to Scotland, and there renew the war, though without men, money, arms, or provisions of any kind; of design, as would seem, that, being exposed to so many accidents and dangers, he might be certainly ruined, and his endeavours for the king's service rendered ineffectual.

It was easy for Montrose to discover their insidious designs; and, therefore, he returned this answer, That nothing could be more acceptable to him than the service he proposed; but as things then stood, he did not see it was practicable to undertake it: he wanted every thing necessary for renewing and carrying on the war, and it was not in the queen's power to furnish them: the affections of the king's friends, even the firmest of them, were much cooled by the late orders for laying down their arms, and they were much weak-

ed by the bad terms stipulated for them : the rebels were masters of all Scotland, and had recalled their army out of England, well disciplined and well provided ; the Marquis of Huntly was now also overpowered, and the dreadful havock made of the Gordons had so terrified the rest of the nation, that they would certainly attempt nothing. Besides, he was commanded by the king, whom he could not disobey, to wait in France for further and more ample instructions from him ; and he was fully persuaded that the queen could not be of opinion that his majesty's orders should be slighted and disregarded. But when he got to Paris, and had paid his due respects to her majesty, he should reckon it a new and considerable addition of honour, if she employed him even in the most difficult and dangerous part of her service.

Ashburnham, not succeeding in these efforts, goes another way to work ; and, with a great deal of pretended concern, entreats the marquis to mind his own safety, to make his peace with the covenanters, and court their friendship, and thereby preserve himself and his followers for better times ; and he frankly undertook to procure his majesty's allowance, or, if he chose it rather, even his positive command, to treat with them upon any terms. Montrose replied, that there was no person readier to obey the king's orders in every thing honourable or lawful ; but that he would not obey even the

king himself, if he should command any thing unlawful, dishonourable, or prejudicial to his royal majesty.

The Archduke Leopold was at that time viceroy, and governor for the King of Spain over the Low Countries; from whom Montrose received full permission to travel through Flanders in his way to France, and arrived safe at Paris. It was thought that no person would have been more kindly received at the queen's court than the Marquis of Montrose; but it happened quite otherwise, by means of the Presbyterians, and particularly Lord Jermyn, who was a special favourite, and had great interest at court, and who took all occasions to detract from Montrose, and to tarnish the glory of his gallant actions. Lord Jermyn bore the marquis a secret grudge on the following account: When the king trusted himself and his affairs in the hands of the Scots covenanters at Newcastle, in order the more effectually to please them in every thing, and to gain their friendship and affection, he commanded Montrose to disband his army; the marquis represented to the king the hardship and injustice of this measure, unless he and the other noblemen and gentlemen, who had served his majesty faithfully and loyally, had full security for their lives; and that their honours and dignities, their lands and estates, which had been unjustly taken from them, should be amply restored and confirmed to them by a special act of parliament,

passed with mutual consent of the king and the estates. This was strenuously opposed by Argyle and the other rebels, who, besides that they were at open enmity with Montrose, and dreaded his superior courage and conduct, were gaping after his estate, and expected to enrich themselves by his forfeiture. The good king was extremely sensible of the justice and equity of Montrose's requests, and would willingly have gratified him in them, but he saw it was a matter of the last consequence to attempt to wrest any thing out of their hands against their will, and that it might even cost him his own life; and, therefore, begged of Montrose not to insist obstinately upon his demands, which would expose the life and safety of his sovereign to imminent danger; and graciously promised that, if ever he was again restored to his liberty, and the administration of the government, he would show a particular regard to him on that account: in the mean time, he assured him, that he had made sufficient provision for his honour and dignity, and advised him to go to France, as his ambassador extraordinary to the Most Christian king; for which purpose he acquainted him he had already dispatched his commission and instructions, and that nothing on his part should be wanting to maintain the dignity of his embassy, till, by the blessing of God, he should recover his just authority, and recal Montrose to his own country. This was very disagreeable to Lord Jermyn, who was

then the king's ambassador resident in France; and as he bore away all the honour and profits that were to be had about the court, he was afraid that both might be diminished by the intervention of so great a man as Montrose; and, therefore, he began to practise the same court-artifices upon him, with which he had formerly proved successful in removing the Earl of Norwich from that station.

Montrose expected that the king's commission and instructions would be delivered to him immediately upon his arrival; but he was told, that they had heard nothing about them at the queen's court, neither had they received any orders relative to them. However, Ashburnham informed him privately, that such indeed was the king's intention, and that nothing could be more certain than that the court knew it to be so, he himself having been dispatched to France for that purpose three months before, but that Lord Jermyn, by his address and interest at court, got every thing rejected that tended to lessen his power, or obstruct his profit.

Montrose easily perceived that the king's commands, and his own most reasonable requests, were neglected and despised; but his generous soul could not endure the thoughts of being employed in the low arts of court contention, and, therefore, addressed himself directly to the queen; he humbly entreated her, that she would be graciously

pleased to inform him, if he could be any way serviceable to his sovereign, for, as the king her husband was now in the hands of his enemies, he was entirely at her devotion, and ready, with all due respect, to receive her orders, and obey them with the utmost fidelity and application, being willing to spend his blood, and lay down his life in the service. The queen answered with a heavy heart, without explaining herself sufficiently on the head; for when she was allowed to follow her own inclinations, she was always very much disposed to encourage and advance this noble person, who, of all the king's subjects, had done him the most valuable service, but being deluded by the artifices of her courtiers, who vaunted of the power and riches of the Presbyterians, sometimes in a cajoling and at other times in a menacing manner, she was forced into quite other measures, and perplexed Montrose with various, and frequently contradictory sentiments.

He was always of opinion, that something of moment ought to be attempted, in order to terrify the rebels from doing any thing inconsistent with the king's safety, and the queen was much of the same mind; but the courtiers took special care that there should be no money ready for purchasing arms, or defraying the necessary expence of such an expedition. Montrose frequently offered, if they would only furnish him with six thousand pistoles, to make a descent upon Britain

with a thousand men, * and raise all the king's loyal subjects, who, he knew, heartily abhorred the wickedness of the rebels in detaining their lawful sovereign captive, and were bent on revenging the affronts and injuries done to him. And the more effectually to persuade the queen, he offered to pledge his life, and what he reckoned dearest to him in the world, his honour, that this should prove serviceable to the king; but all was to no purpose, the proposition was opposed by the ravenous courtiers, to whom all that remained in the queen's treasury seemed too little to answer their luxury and profuseness.

In the mean time, these rebellious conspirators, who had first contrived and entered into that horrid league against the king, and, in order to support it, had armed the Scots against him, and encouraged also the English, who were then living peaceably, to follow their impious example, and had brought the king into so many hardships, and at length, by the assistance of their brethren in England, to inevitable ruin, attempted, without Montrose's knowledge, to impose upon the queen in a very gross and impudent manner. They pretended that the king's imprisonment gave them very great concern, but it was not to be imputed to them; the English alone were to blame, who

* The Latin MS. has it ten thousand men.

had engaged that the king should not be maltreated, and that nothing should be determined concerning him, without the advice and consent of the Scots covenanters; but that they had not kept their promise, that they were therefore resolved, by force of arms, to restore his majesty to his liberty and former dignity, providing the queen would accept of their service, and ratify and confirm by her authority what they designed for his majesty's relief, and, therefore, they humbly entreated her to employ the great interest she deservedly had with the king her husband, to advise and persuade him to trust himself and all his concerns to their care, conduct, and fidelity; promising to leave nothing unattempted, and spare neither pains nor labour, nor lay down their arms, till he was again settled on the throne of his ancestors, and restored to the peaceable dominion of these kingdoms. The good, but too credulous queen, blinded by these fair promises, was easily induced to trust them, and to promise her assistance, which she afterwards performed. They endeavoured to conceal this private negociation from Montrose, but he soon came to the knowledge of it; and at last, when there was a necessity to divulge it, the queen declared to him, that both the king and she were so much oppressed and wearied out with the troubles they had already suffered, and were so frightened at the thoughts of greater calamities yet impending, that they had trusted themselves

and their affairs to the covenanters, as the most probable means of preserving them from utter shipwreck, and that they were both unalterably fixed in this resolution.

Montrose, who could never be induced to believe that these perfidious traitors, who were involved in such a multiplicity of crimes, would ever deal honestly and fairly with the king, could hardly refrain from shedding tears, when he saw his beloved sovereign, by trusting to the insidious promises of his declared enemies, ready to plunge himself into an abyss of misery. With a countenance, however, somewhat composed, he addressed the queen in the following manner: "It is, without doubt, your majesty's right to determine what is most for your service, and your subjects are bound to yield a quick and ready obedience; your majesty shall find none of your subjects more obedient than I am; yet I reckon it my duty timeously to premonish you of the evils that threaten both the king and his kingdoms, if he takes that course; and to point out the most proper remedies, such, at least, as the situation of affairs, now when they are brought to the last extremity, will admit of. Your majesty very well knows, that these honest men, whom you are now about to trust, have shown an implacable hatred, and used all manner of cruelty towards the king; they were the first that laid violent hands upon him, and detained him as a prisoner in their army; it was they who refused him entrance

into Scotland; it was they who betrayed him to the English; and they continue still to butcher his faithful subjects, whom they are daily sacrificing to their avarice and cruelty, upon no other account than their loyalty alone. Neither is it very probable, that men so deeply immersed in rebellion can so soon have repented of their conduct; on the contrary, their avarice and ambition, joined with a consciousness of their former guilt, will rather push them on to pursue the same measures, from a persuasion that their only hope of safety and impunity consists in the total ruin and destruction of their injured sovereign. The last and only remedy which, in my opinion, now remains, in order to preserve some kind of curb over this cruel and unmanageable set of men, is to allow me, who, from my former faithful services to the king, have no hopes of a reconciliation with the rebels, by the king's authority and special commission to raise an army chosen from among such of my countrymen the Scots, as, justly suspecting the unstable loyalty and faith of the covenanters, will never heartily join them, or fight under their command; and that this army should be as auxiliaries to that which has already entered England, providing they behave themselves honestly, and as becomes faithful subjects; but if they shall return to their former seditious practices, which is much to be feared, and attempt to raise new troubles, and betray the king a second time, then these forces

under my command will be a terror to them, and be able either to keep them to their duty, or reduce them, should they mutiny or revolt. As for me, I shall readily yield to them the command, the honour, the thanks and rewards that may be expected, if they do but at length heartily and in good earnest return to their allegiance; and shall reckon all my labours and hardships, my losses and dangers, sufficiently recompensed, if they are in any degree serviceable to my sovereign, the best of kings."

The Presbyterians, by their earnest solicitations and fair promises, joined with the great vaunts they made of their power and influence, had so deluded the queen with vain hopes, that she slighted the wiser counsels of Montrose; and entrusted not only her own safety, but even that of the king her husband, and of the princes her children, solely to those who had been the authors of all their former calamities, and who were soon to bring more numerous and more grievous troubles upon them. Montrose, that he might not be thought an impious partaker, or unconcerned spectator of so great villany, desired and obtained leave from the queen to depart from Paris, and retire for some time to the country, for the recovery of his health and spirits, after the long fatigue he had undergone.

CHAP. II.

Character of the Presbyterians.—Of the Independents.—The latter become the most powerful, and seize the king.—The Presbyterians apply to Scotland for assistance.—The Scots raise an army, and appoint the Duke of Hamilton general.—Two factions in Scotland, Hamilton's and Argyle's.

As in the sequel of this history there will be often occasion to mention the Presbyterians and Independents, two sects of modern heretics with modern names, it will not perhaps be unacceptable to the readers, strangers especially, neither will it be foreign to our purpose, to premise a few things concerning them.

When men leave the right road, and wander off the king's highway, it is usual for them to stray in many devious paths and contrary and opposite by-roads. This we find by sad experience to have been the case of the modern fanatics, who, under pretence of restoring the purity of religion, have not only disturbed, but utterly destroyed both church and state. For after they had expelled the only lawful governors of the church, trampled on the ancient church discipline, deformed the divine worship, and most impiously dethroned the king, and deprived the civil magistrate of his power, they

split into innumerable sects and parties, distinguished by as many names: however, they may be ranked under these two heads, the Presbyterians and Independents, which comprehend all the rest. The former of these, the Presbyterians, affect to be so called from a new model of church-government and discipline, unknown to former ages, and more properly deserving the appellation of an inquisition, which they recommend to the vulgar under the specious but false name of the Presbytery; for they adopt into the meeting, which they call their presbytery such of the people as are most zealously addicted to their way, as ploughmen, chapmen, sailors, coblers, coalliers, salters, and the like; men not admitted into holy orders, and scarce sufficiently instructed in the first principles of religion; these have the same right to vote in their presbyteries with the ministers themselves; they are elected annually, and dignified with the title of lay or ruling elders. They pretend to maintain a parity among their pastors; but this is but a mere pretence, and their practice contradicts it; for a very few of them, supported by the popular applause, and the giddy conceit of the rabble, lord it in a most tyrannical manner, not only over their own brethren, but over the peers of the land, and will even dare to insult the king himself. Every thing relating to the church and religion is brought before the presbytery; and not only so, but all matters relating indifferently either to church or

state, are brought before it, under the notion of a scandal, an offence, or being *in ordine ad spiritualia*. They convene without the consent, and often against the will of the supreme magistrate, provincial and national synods, the last of which they call general assemblies. These are a sort of superior presbyteries, and composed in the same manner as those above described, in which they presume not only to deliberate and debate, but even to determine concerning the most important and weighty affairs of the state; and against such as are so hardy as to oppose or contradict their decrees, they thunder out their anathemas and excommunications, by which they teach, that both soul and body is delivered over into the hands of the devil; and by this means they terrify not only the poor ignorant mob, but even the nobility and gentry, and hold them under a wonderful awe and subjection. They strictly discharge all commerce or communication whatsoever with such as are excommunicated, and thus, with great ease, they dissolve the reciprocal duties that subsist betwixt husband and wife, parents and children, masters and servants, and even absolve the subjects from the allegiance and obedience due by them to their sovereign. According to their principles, such as differ from them in the smallest article of religion, or the most insignificant rite of external worship, may be justly punished with imprisonment, banishment, or even death itself; but they are more particular-

ly severe against such as deny the divine right of presbytery. If they bear a grudge against any of their neighbours, all his words and actions are so narrowly canvassed and scanned, that very few can live in security among them. In their sermons they have the impudence to insult and reproach the nobility, the royal family, and even the king himself, to their faces, with impunity; by such rudeness rendering them odious and contemptible to the people, whose favour and affections they thereby obtain, and, by making them believe that they are inspired with a divine prophetical spirit, arrive at an unlimited influence over them. They never fail to find fault with whatever is done, even in parliament, that has not the sanction of the presbytery's approbation. They maintain, that presbyters can, and ought to be judged by the presbytery only, a privilege which they pretend to found upon the word of God; and, in consequence thereof, that the civil magistrate has no right nor power to call them to account, or punish them, though guilty of sedition or rebellion, till they have been first condemned by the presbytery. In these principles they differ very widely from the reformed churches in Holland, the classes in the Palatinate, or the consistory in Geneva; for all of these yield that honour and respect which is due to the civil magistrate, upon whom they depend, and whose commands they punctually obey. The Presbyterians, on the contrary, not only despise, con-

tradict, and oppose him, but also foment seditions against him, and spirit up the populace, whom they keep in subjection to themselves by their dreadful delusions, and bind over, by horrid oaths and impious covenants, to rise in arms against him and dispute his authority. In a word, by their pride, self-conceit, and avarice, they are grievous to all ranks of men, being far more cruel and intolerable than the ancient Druids, or even than the modern inquisitors of the church of Rome.

To this account of the Presbyterians we may subjoin that of the Independents, their genuine offspring, resembling in every thing the corrupted stock from which they sprung. They are called Independents, because they acknowledge no dependence upon any superior; for emperors, kings, popes, bishops, presbyteries, synods, and councils, though free and economical, they reject, condemn, and anathematize, as antichristian and diabolical inventions. As they separate themselves from the rest of mankind, whom they consider as polluted and profane, so they are divided and split among themselves into innumerable sects and parties, a consequence which must necessarily befal those who have violently broke asunder all the bonds of unity and society. However, they agree surprisingly in this particular, that they tolerate one another, and inflict no other punishment on such among them as differ in matters of religion, than exclusion from their religious meetings. They agree with the

Presbyterians, and endeavour to exceed them in treachery, avarice, sacrilege, cruelty, and contempt of such magistrates as will not subject themselves to them. Holy orders, especially imposition of hands, of which the Presbyterians still retain some resemblance, they abhor as a magical rite, and an invention of the devil. The people choose their own ministers, and whom they create one day, they pull down the other. In their private meetings they regulate every thing that concerns the divine worship, and the ecclesiastical government. Learning and learned men are the special objects of their hatred, as being enemies of true Christian piety. They esteem no preacher who does not pretend that he is immediately inspired with the Holy Spirit; and in their extemporary prayers, much talking, magical gestures, distortions of the face and eyes, loud and horrid bawling, every thing, in short, confused and indigested, are applauded and admired, as the infallible signs of the immediate influence of the Spirit. They are for the most part Anabaptists, and baptize by the immersion of the naked bodies of both sexes, after they are become adult, into rivers. They likewise pollute the sacred eucharist in an abominable manner. Besides the Arian heresy, and such like impieties, these notable reformers have again revived and brought upon the stage the dotages and obscenities of the Carpocratians, the Adamites, and the Gnostics. They think that Papists, with those who

worship God according to the liturgy of the church of England, ought to be imprisoned, banished, forfeited, and prosecuted with fire and sword, for the sake of their religion, and them only; but they are more favourable to the Papists than to those of the church of England. At the same time, they tolerate all the other sects of heretics, even Turks and Jews. They maintain, that the people, by whom they understand only the lowest class, excluding kings, princes, and peers, have, by divine appointment, an absolute and uncontrollable dominion over the lives and fortunes of the whole nation; in which, as in most other things, they agree with the Presbyterians; only, that what they, in words, ascribe to the people, is, in effect, arrogated by the presbytery, to whose decrees the people are entirely subjected.

From the beginning of the troubles in Great Britain, the Presbyterians, considering the Independents as their sons and brethren, were at great pains to court them, because, as they were very numerous, they expected their assistance would be useful in subduing the common enemy, so they impiously called the king. They flattered themselves, that these simple and foolish men, as they esteemed them, would quickly come over to their party; or, if they shewed any reluctance, would easily be brought to join them either by force or fraud. Deceived with these flattering hopes, they encouraged the Independents upon all occasions, no

favour was refused them, many of them were chosen into the parliament, others advanced to the places of greatest trust, and encouraged to aspire to the highest titles; they were made captains and colonels in the army, got the command of the best ships, were made governors of the best fortified towns and castles, and had their choice of the richest colonies; thus by degrees they rose to considerable power and greatness, and thereby at length began to grow formidable, and suspected by their patrons the Presbyterians, who saw, when too late, that they had cherished a serpent in their bosom, which, by the just judgment of God, recompensed them as they deserved, and thus the Independents deceived the most deceitful of mankind, and soon began to prescribe laws to those from whom they used to receive them. Among the secret articles of their horrid confederacy, which they impiously denominated the *Solemn League and Covenant*, that was not the least material, whereby both parties, with a fraudulent intent, and in order to outwit each other, agreed to a mutual toleration of one another, till they had vanquished the common enemy, and put an end to the war, after which, they were to sit down and adjust the controversies which had arisen among them in an amicable and friendly manner; the Presbyterians being resolved to root out the Independents, and they, on the other hand, equally determined to shake off the tyrannical yoke of

the Presbyterians. The last are the most numerous in Scotland, but the Independents exceed them in England; however, many more of the Scots Presbyterians favoured and countenanced the Independents, who had now taken possession of the government in England, than there were of the English who countenanced the Presbyterians.

The king having been delivered up by the Scots covenanters to the English Presbyterians, was by them lodged in Holmby castle, and there kept under a military guard, where the Independents seized and carried him off by open force; and thereby shewed the world what they had the power and hardiness to attempt. The Presbyterians, highly enraged at this daring enterprise, accused them of a breach of public faith, and threatened to take an adequate revenge, while they, triumphing in the possession of their invaluable booty, insulted over the Presbyterians as vanquished, and laughed at their impotent menaces, being fully prepared for all encounters. Various were the artifices now put in practice by both parties, as if they had vied which should outdo the other in craft and dissimulation. They both pretended to have the honour and interest of the king at heart; and that their sole aim was to restore the dignity of the crown, and secure the liberty of the subject by just and equitable laws. Each party accused the other of maltreating thek ing while in their custody, and with dealing with him

unfairly and disingenuously; and pretended, that it was their inclination, and the only way to satisfy the earnest wishes of the nation, and bring about a safe and lasting peace, to come to honourable terms with his majesty, and to receive his friends, and such as had adhered to him, again into favour. The public declarations on both sides were full of professions to this purpose, particularly those of the Independents, and among these Cromwell, who was appointed lieutenant-general of the army under Fairfax, was the most forward. However, some persons who were farther sighted saw through the disguise, and perceived that neither party were ingenuous in their professions, and that the whole amount of the dispute betwixt them was not, which party should have the honour of delivering their king, and restoring him to his ancient dignity, but which of the two should have the glory of triumphing over their vanquished sovereign, and the pleasure of usurping his government. Indeed, for some time the Independents treated him with much less severity than he had formerly been, whereby many conceived great hopes of a speedy accommodation. Many of his own servants, particularly his chaplains, were allowed to attend him, a favour which, on the most pressing entreaties, he could never obtain from the Presbyterians. They permitted him in his devotions the use of the liturgy of the Church of England, to which he professed his firm adherence, even with his

latest breath. The Scots commissioners had liberty to present addresses to him, and were also admitted to confer with him in private. The nobility and gentry, and even many of the officers who had served in his own army, were admitted to visit him at all times without restraint, and in general, all imaginable respect was paid him for some time. However, the deplorable catastrophe, which soon after ensued, proved a convincing evidence, that this sunshine was indulged the king by the Independents, only to gain time till they had suppressed the power of their rivals, and rendered their own faction superior and uncontrollable, both in the army and the parliament.

The power and influence of the English Presbyterians being thus abridged, and their high expectations likely to be disappointed, they had recourse to the Scots, their old confederates, and implored their aid and assistance, assuring them that their army should no sooner enter England, than they would be joined by the bulk of the people, who were heartily wearied of the oppression and tyranny of the Independents. The Scots, who were of themselves very well inclined to a war with England, grasped at the opportunity, and immediately laid the matter before the parliament, where the expedition was almost unanimously resolved upon. But there was some difference of opinion, what they should allege as the cause of the war, and concerning the choice of a general to command

the army: some were for loading the Independents with perfidy, and breach of the Solemn League and Covenant, because that the Presbyterian church-government had not as yet been established in England, notwithstanding that episcopacy had been long before utterly abolished. Argyle and his associates, who had drawn over the most turbulent and seditious ministers to their party, insisted that this should be declared the only cause of the war. The other party, among whom the Duke of Hamilton and his brother were the chief, though they acknowledged this to be the principal cause of the war, were likewise for adding as another reason, that the king was unjustly detained prisoner, contrary to the promises given to the Scots at Newcastle; and that they were resolved, by a just and open war, to rescue him out of their hands, and bring him to a free and personal treaty (to use the language of the times) with his parliament, whether the Independents would or not. This was strenuously urged and insisted on by the Hamiltonian faction, on purpose to ingratiate themselves with the loyalists, and get them to vote on their side. But Argyle and the rigid Presbyterians, who were entirely devoted to him, and pretended to no less character than that of reformers of the times, would hearken to no overtures for the king, whom they considered as obstinately hardened, and unalterable in his impious opposition to presbytery; and were, therefore, for disowning

him, and leaving him to the will and pleasure of his most cruel and inveterate enemies. And, accordingly, both parties appealed, Argyle and his faction to the general assembly, and the Duke of Hamilton and his party to the parliament.

The kingdom was immediately thereupon split into two parties, and two supreme judicatories were erected in direct opposition to one another. The general assembly, on the one hand, thundered out their ecclesiastical censures, their anathemas, and excommunications; and the parliament, on the other, threatened imprisonment, banishment, confiscations, and military execution. By this means the people were miserably distracted betwixt fear and superstition; and even the nobility were at a loss what conduct to pursue in this confusion. The Duke of Hamilton's party, who were the majority in parliament, procured the raising a very great army, * and had the officers all named to their liking; they levied money, and ordered arms, ammunition, and every thing to be got ready for hastening their intended expedition; and the Duke of Hamilton was himself unluckily appointed general, much against the inclinations of many, who suspected his loyalty and fidelity to the king. Argyle's faction, who, on the contrary, were superior in the assembly of the kirk, and carried all be-

* May 3, 1648.

fore them, passed an act censuring and condemning that expedition, though it was approven and authorised by the parliament; and, to make their act the more effectual, not only employed their spiritual artillery to terrify the people, but also stirred up great numbers in the western parts of the kingdom to rise in arms and oppose it: from their numbers, and the encouragement given them by their preachers, whom they looked on as inspired, they were confident of success; but, being all raw and void of discipline, Middleton soon quelled them, though not without some danger. Several of their ministers were taken prisoners, completely armed, and fighting desperately in the first ranks; * but Hamilton, to curry favour with the Presbyterians, pardoned them not only that, but the other treasonable acts they had been formerly guilty of.

About the same time, the general assembly, in order to draw down the dislike and reproaches of the populace upon the parliament, appointed a day of solemn humiliation and fasting to be observed through all Scotland; for which the chief reason they alleged was the defection and apostasy of the states of the kingdom from the truth and purity of

* These ministers were William Adair, William Guthry, Gabriel Maxwell, and John Nevoy, or Nave, the instigator of the massacre at Dunnavertie, old Cant's nephew; they were the principal commanders of this tumultuous army.

religion, by their endeavours to restore the king upon too easy terms. The Duke of Hamilton openly professed himself a Presbyterian; and, in several pamphlets which he published in defence of his conduct, he declared and protested solemnly to the people, that he would religiously observe the *Solemn League and Covenant*, which he would defend against all mortals; and that the army which he commanded was chiefly raised, and would be employed for that end. None of the loyalists, especially those who had formerly served under Montrose, were promoted by him to any dignity, or allowed any command in the army; however, he privately gave them encouragement to expect places of trust and honour, how soon he entered England. By these means he thought to have pleased both parties; but in this he found himself disappointed, becoming thereby suspected and hated by both.

CHAP. III.

The Duke of Hamilton marches his army into England; joined by several of the English; defeated by Cromwell at Preston, and surrenders himself.—A new army raised in Scotland, and the command given to the Earl of Lanark; he is joined by great numbers of the nobility and gentry.—General Monro, contrary to Lanark's intention, attacks and defeats Argyle at Stirling.—Lanark's loyalty suspected; at length he concludes a dishonourable peace with Argyle.

The Duke of Hamilton, besides the choice levies he had made in Scotland, procured likewise from Ireland a considerable number of old experienced troops, under the command of George Monro, a very brave general. The Earl of Callender, who had been from his infancy trained up in the wars, both at home and abroad, and was now become remarkable for his skill in military affairs, was appointed by the parliament his lieutenant-general, and went along with him to England. His brother, the Earl of Lanark, was left at home, to bring up a reinforcement, if there should be occasion. In short, every thing was settled to his mind; he had a very brave army, appointed with excellent and

experienced officers, and well provided in arms and other necessaries; and he had assurance of being joined by a considerable reinforcement in England. Yet with all these encouragements it was thought by many that he made not that quick progress he ought to have done: they complained that he trifled away the time to no purpose, and allowed a fine opportunity to slip out of his hands, whereby the enemy had time to recover their surprise, and put themselves in a posture of defence; and they concluded, that the lovalists in England, who were already in arms, and even the king himself now for a second time, were basely betrayed to their enemies by this scandalous and unseasonable delay. One thing is certain, that great numbers in several counties in England,especially in Wales, Kent, and Cornwall, trusting to the duke's promises, and expecting powerful assistance from him, rose in arms, under the command of the king's officers, rather too early, which in the end proved fatal both to themselves and to the king.

When he came at length to the borders, he was met by several gentlemen of the north of England, remarkable for their courage and loyalty, and of considerable weight and influence in these counties. They joined the Scots army very frankly; and as a proof and pledge of their fidelity and constancy, they immediately delivered up the towns of Berwick and Carlisle, two strong forts, which they had some time before taken from the Independents;

and, removing their own garrisons, allowed a Scots garrison and a Scots governor to be left in their stead. Among these who joined the army were Sir Philip Musgrave, and Sir Marmaduke Langdale, with many other gentlemen of great interest and authority, who had plentiful estates, many dependents, were well beloved in the country, and had distinguished themselves by their conduct and courage. Yet notwithstanding, the duke did not advise with them in any matters of moment: they were, indeed, admitted to the public councils, where nothing considerable was ever transacted; but were never allowed access to the cabinet-councils, which consisted of a few of the duke's creatures, and where every thing of consequence was concluded. These English gentlemen, who were acquainted with the roads in their own country, and the temper and disposition of their countrymen, beyond what the Scots could pretend to, gave it as their advice to march through Yorkshire, the inhabitants of which county they knew to be particularly well affected to the king: but the duke, who never failed to neglect the loyalists, and to extol and encourage the Presbyterians, rejected their council, and chose to march through Lancashire, because the generality of the people there were inclined that way. He unluckily ordered Monro, with a strong body of both horse and foot, to stop in Westmorland; and desired Sir Marmaduke and his men, who were not indeed very numerous, but

were stout and true loyalists, to take a different rout, and pitch their camp separate from the Scots: and the body which he himself commanded, he permitted to divide and spread abroad through the country, among the villages and farmers' houses, to the distance of at least twenty miles, contrary to all the rules of military discipline. However, that he might not appear to act in this matter altogether without some colour of reason, he pretended, that he took this course in order to ease the people of this country, who were much attached to the king, and to render the procuring of forage and provisions for the army more convenient and expeditious. In the mean time, he rested secure, and neglected the enemy; who, on the other hand, were extremely diligent and alert in catching hold of every advantage which could promote their success. By these means the duke, who, upon other occasions, was, in the opinion of a great many, reckoned a man of great prudence and foresight, and particularly versed in ensnaring his adversaries, shewed himself at this time an ill-advised, unskilful, and unlucky general, to the irreparable prejudice of the king, the kingdom, and himself.

In the mean time, the Independents, who had made themselves masters of the king, detained him close prisoner in the Isle of Wight, whither he had retired, being partly driven there by violence, and partly allured by villany and deceit: they likewise seized the command of the city and tower of Lon-

don, out of the hands of the Presbyterians, and not only expelled them from both houses of parliament, but purged their army of them entirely. Being thus become absolute masters, and having assumed the whole power into own their hands, they now began to lay aside the mask, and display as much rancour and hatred towards the Presbyterians, as they had done hitherto towards the king, being resolved to trample on presbytery as insolently as they had already done on the crown.

Fairfax, their general, undertook to quell some Presbyterians who had joined the loyalists that were up in arms in Kent and Essex; which he easily effectuated, as they were raw undisciplined men, without order and without officers, and quite unfit and unprovided for war. Colchester, however, though but indifferently fortified, held out against him much longer than could have been expected; which was chiefly owing to the valour and resolution of the king's officers, particularly Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle, whose gallant behaviour on this occasion ought never to be forgot. Cromwell, the lieutenant-general, engaged the Scots army under the Duke of Hamilton with pretty much the same success: they were lying in Lancashire very secure, when Cromwell came upon them unawares: the English, commanded by Sir Marmaduke Langdale, received the first shock; and they fought it a considerable time with great bravery; but at length being overpowered with num-

bers, and almost surrounded by the enemy, their powder also falling short, and despairing of any assistance from the duke, which they had in vain demanded, they were forced to save themselves by flight. Cromwell, being thoroughly informed by the deserters of the bad order and discipline of the duke's army, promised himself a very easy and cheap victory, and made a very brisk charge with his cavalry, in which his principal strength consisted, upon the centre of the Scots army. The duke, who was utterly ignorant of military affairs, being confounded with the enemy's sudden and precipitate attack, and at a loss what he should do, retired with what forces he had about him into the town of Preston. But he did not continue long there; for, being either actuated by fear, or fatally hurried on to his own ruin, he abandoned the town to the enemy that very night, without waiting the arrival of the rest of his army, who, immediately upon the first notice of the enemy's approach, and without any positive order or command for that purpose, were coming up in great numbers, and in good spirits, to his assistance, from all the corners of the country round where they were quartered. He crossed the river, but without leaving any guard upon the bridge, which Cromwell therefore presently seized; and having left his foot to their own fate, he and his cavalry betook themselves to a shameful and dishonourable flight. The foot, following the example and

orders of Baillie their commander, shamefully threw away their arms, and surrendered to the victorious enemy. Some of the horse joined Monro; but the greater part followed and overtook their flying general. He had still remaining with him upwards of three thousand good horse; who, after a journey of three or four days, having left the enemy at a great distance behind them, and having got themselves refreshed, were unanimously of opinion, that something ought yet to be attempted for the king's service. Some were for forcing their way to Monro, even through the midst of the enemy; others were for marching into Wales, and joining the loyalists there who were yet in arms: but all agreed in this, that an honourable death was rather to be chosen than to fall into the hands of such base and cruel enemies. The general alone was of a contrary opinion. What had happened them, he said, was the common chance of war, and ought to be calmly submitted to, without endeavouring to struggle with their adverse fortune; especially as he saw no hope of safety remained in fighting, and there was no reason to despair of mercy from their enemies, providing they made a speedy surrender, which was the only effectual method to preserve themselves. Cromwell's army not coming up speedily, so as to answer his impatience, he began to treat of surrendering with the governor of a little obscure fort, and concluded with him upon no other terms, than only to save

the lives of himself and his followers. This petty governor had hastily got together a rabble of country people, not exceeding four hundred; and to this formidable enemy the duke was just on the point of surrendering himself and three thousand good cavalry, when news was brought that the Earl of Stamford (others say Colonel Lambert) was at hand; and to him he surrendered himself and his army, upon the same conditions that had been prescribed him by the petty governor; and was very soon after thrown into prison. The Earl of Callender, the lieutenant-general, upon whom the duke's friends threw all the blame of losing the army and their other misfortunes, because the duke had committed to him the whole charge and command, as to military affairs, detesting this pusillanimous conduct, chose somewhat a more honourable course, and travelled in disguise through England, till at length, getting the opportunity of a ship, he escaped to Holland. The richer sort of the prisoners purchased their liberty by money: some made their escape by deceiving, others by bribing the gaolers: but the common soldiers, who could find no way to escape, were treated in a most barbarous and unchristian manner, and sold to the merchants at an inconsiderable price, and sent as slaves to the West Indies.

Monro, and those with him, who had survived the battle of Preston, were immediately recalled to Scotland by the Earl of Lanark, who joined them

not far from the borders with a considerable body, consisting of his own friends and vassals, and several other loyalists. Many English gentlemen likewise, willing to share the same fortune with them, came and offered their services to fight against the rebels, whether Scotland or England should be the seat of war. Those of the nobility who chiefly favoured the king's side, either came themselves, with what assistance they could possibly raise, or sent proper messengers to signify their good intentions and readiness to join in the service as soon as possible. By these means Lanark had very soon a force sufficient to oppose Cromwell, if he should invade Scotland, or to quash Argyle, should he attempt to raise any new troubles at home. But this army still wanted a commander. A general council of war was therefore called for electing another general in place of the Duke of Hamilton, who was now detained prisoner in England; in which his brother the Earl of Lanark, who was rather too aspiring and ambitious, pretended to that office; and, contrary to the inclination of great numbers, rather assumed than obtained it by a fair choice. The Earl of Roxburgh, a nobleman of great experience, and by far the most powerful in that country, strenuously opposed it; and, in a grave and modest speech, earnestly entreated him, for the sake of their dear sovereign and their distressed country, not to insist in demanding that dignity, which was extremely

unseasonable and ill judged at that time. He told him, that, even before the late defeat, many were much offended at the expedition into England, and reckoned that it presaged no good; chiefly because his brother the duke was appointed general; whose fidelity in the management of the king's affairs not a few suspected, though he believed without any good ground; however, it could not be denied that he had always been unfortunate; and people's judgments, with respect to the conduct or misconduct of generals, are known to depend, in a great measure, though indeed wrongously, upon their success. Though, for his own part, he said, he was ready to ascribe the loss of that gallant army under his brother, which was attended with such a disgrace to the nation, to the cowardice of others, or to inevitable misfortunes; yet it was sufficiently known, that most of the populace, whose good affections ought by all means to be obtained in this critical juncture, spoke and thought very differently concerning that affair from what it was proper for him to do. And if the Earl of Lanark should succeed his brother the duke in that station, as they were already highly inflamed and exasperated, they would immediately exclaim, that the king and country were now utterly undone; that both the brothers were of the same mind; that they were swayed by the same motives; that they pursued the same courses; and all their enterprises would undoubtedly terminate in the same unlucky

manner; that we wanted not many other persons of quality, wise and brave men, and proper for action, whose ancestors have had the command of the king's armies, and in that post acquired no small honour and renown. It was, therefore, his opinion, that some of these should be invited, and obliged, even against their own inclinations, to take upon them the command of this army; and, if it pleased the honourable meeting, he thought the first offer ought to be made to the Earl Marishal, whose family may be ranked among the first in Scotland, as having often distinguished itself by its loyalty and bravery; one who has a plentiful estate, in the flower of his age, not in the least suspected of faction and disloyalty; and, which is of itself no small recommendation in the present case, one who is not courting this preferment.

All the nobility and officers present went plum into Roxburgh's opinion; but the Earl of Lanark, after boasting very high of his own merit, said, in a threatening manner, that he would never suffer the command of these forces to be wrested out of his hands, now in his brother's absence. Roxburgh, and the other nobility and gentry, who wisely foresaw the tendency of such courses, returned home heartily grieved and concerned, and never intermeddled more with public affairs, which, from this time forth, went every day into confusion and ruin.

After Lanark entered Scotland, his first and

principal concern was to dismiss those brave and faithful English auxiliaries who had joined him, alleging, that, by having so many strangers about him, and in his army, he might thereby give umbrage to the Scots, and be in danger of alienating their affections. In the meantime, he gave them reason to expect that he would join with them in mutual advice and assistance, which, however, they found afterwards to turn out quite otherwise. His next business was to send circular letters through all parts of the kingdom, with a very great parade, inviting all ranks of men, and particularly the nobility, gentry, and heads of clans, to rise in arms, and join him with all expedition. He acknowledged that a part of his brother's army was lost, but that the duke had behaved very gallantly, and that the disaster was to be ascribed to the cowardice or perfidy of others; however, the greatest part was still safe and resolute under his command; he, therefore, earnestly entreated them to come and share with him the honours and advantages that would certainly attend his victorious arms. But, as he well knew that his constancy and fidelity in the cause of his king and country was much questioned by many, he therefore imprecated the heaviest curses upon himself, if he did not prosecute to the utmost this most just and equitable war, which was first begun for rescuing the king, and restoring him to his royal dignity, and to which he had now an additional motive, the safety and enlarge-

ment of his dearest brother. There were very few so obstinate in their prejudices against the two brothers, or so incredulous, who were not ready to give credit to this letter, and receive some good impressions in their favour. All beyond Forth, even the people of Fife, prepared to rise in arms. The Earl of Seaforth brought up four thousand picked men, all well armed, from the Western Islands, and the utmost parts of Caithness. The Earl of Morton had already brought up to Lothian, from the Orkney Islands, about twelve hundred men, but they all wanted arms, and these prudent generals took very little care to provide them. There was also good ground to believe, that they would be soon joined by the Gordons, whose chieftain, the Marquis of Huntly, was then in prison at Edinburgh, and in danger of his life; the Earl of Errol, heritable high constable of Scotland; the Earls Marishal, Buchan, and Athole, and all the men they could raise; besides the Lords Ogilvy, Spynie, Carnegie, Scrimzeour, Drummond, Tullibardine, Erskine, Fleming, Livingston, Lindesay, Sinclair, Douglas, Queensberry, Hartfield, Galloway, Dumfries, Maxwell, Annandale, Home, Linton, and many other lords, barons, and heads of clans, either particularly attached to the family of Hamilton, or strongly devoted to the king's interest; and the whole Highlanders, Argyle alone excepted: of all whom many had already bore their part in the war much to their prejudice.

The Marquis of Argyle's faction, chiefly by the assistance and instigation of the fanatic ministers, had gathered together a confused rabble in the west country, composed of farmers, cowherds, shepherds, coblers, and such like mob, without arms, and without courage, and sent them to Edinburgh, under the command of David Lesly. There they were provided with arms, which, as they were unaccustomed to, were rather a burden and incumbrance than of any use; and were mounted upon horses, or jades rather, which had been long used to the drudgery of labour, equipped with pack-saddles and halters, in place of saddles and bridles. Argyle himself followed them, with about seven hundred men, all in the same plight, of whom he proposed to put a garrison into Stirling, which was a very convenient station for his purpose.

The Earl of Lanark was now marching to Edinburgh at the head of a gallant and powerful army, having under his command no less than five thousand excellent light horse, and six thousand foot, chiefly veterans; the men were all hearty, well armed, every way well provided, and commanded by most experienced officers, and wished for nothing more than to engage the enemy, over whom they promised themselves a certain and cheap victory. His advanced guard was already come the length of Musselburgh, which is about four miles from the city, where they found a guard placed by Lesly to defend the bridge over the Esk,

and though they were much inferior in number, they immediately put them in great disorder, and killed severals, without having one man of their own killed or wounded. They forthwith reported their success to Lanark, and assured him, that the enemy were weak and cowardly, and thought of nothing but flying or surrendering, so that a victory without bloodshed, which would be therefore the more popular, was now in their power, and that, if he pursued the blow that was already given, while they were yet in consternation, he might that very night, and perhaps before sunset, make himself master of the city of Edinburgh, and of the town of Leith, with their whole cannon and ammunition, besides their naval stores and magazines, and no small quantity of provisions; and that a small part of the army, not above a third, would be fully sufficient for accomplishing this important enterprise.

And, indeed, nobody doubted, that, had he complied with this advice, Scotland might have been totally recovered, and reduced to the king's obedience. But in place of that, he refused to fight; and immediately ordered his troops, who had been hitherto victorious, to be called back, and, leaving the highway which leads to Edinburgh, marched off to the left. Both officers and soldiers, surprised at this unexpected course, began first to murmur, and soon after to exclaim aloud against him for losing this opportunity, which, had

it been embraced, might very soon have put a period to the war in Scotland; whereas, this unseasonable delay would be of the greatest detriment to them, and of the highest advantage to the enemy, as it gave them not only time to breathe, but afforded them an opportunity of getting recruits and assistance, both from their friends in the country and in England, particularly from Cromwell, for whose behoof they were principally engaged. And by this unaccountable conduct, Edinburgh, the capital city of Scotland, and principal place of meeting of the estates, was left in their power, and all the arms, magazines, and other stores, given up without the stroke of a sword; and all this, besides the loss they would undoubtedly sustain in their character and reputation as soldiers, a thing of no small importance during the dependence of a war, which would fall naturally to be transferred to their enemies, who did not even deserve the name.

The more sagacious sort began now first to suspect the tendency of this conduct, for nobody could imagine, that the Earl of Lanark, who was a man of very great penetration and prudence, could act so foolishly, or rather like a madman, unless he had views very different from what he pretended. But he had long before this time determined to accommodate matters with Argyle and his faction at any rate, and had taken the field rather to show his power, and thereby the more effectually to

conciliate their favour, than out of any design to act offensively against them; for it is now notoriously well known, that he had sometime ago sent messengers privately to Argyle to treat concerning an accommodation, without showing any concern for his soldiers, and those whom he had engaged to take up arms.

When the enemy saw with joy that the Earl of Lanark had turned off his army from the road to Edinburgh, and was marching away by the Pentland Hills, they immediately drew together their contemptible forces, that had nothing but the name and figure of soldiers; not that they had any confidence in them, but that, by the appearance of an army, they might preserve their authority and credit with the people, and make a jest of their brave adversaries, who were restrained from action by the knavery of their commanders. The old officers and veteran soldiers, agitated betwixt shame and rage, could hardly digest the affront, and were with great difficulty stopt by the general from rushing precipitately upon their despicable foe; yet so great was his authority in the army, that he obliged them, much contrary to their inclination, to march towards Stirling.

The van, which consisted of a few veteran troops, was commanded by Monro, who had long been their officer; he was a man of real integrity, and eager for pushing on the war vigorously and in good earnest for the king's interest, which he con-

sidered as the principal motive for engaging in it; but he had now begun to smell out Lanark's intrigues, however secretly they were conducted; and finding he could not altogether disappoint them, he resolved upon the following stratagem to thwart them, in some measure, and expose them to public view. When he reached Wallace's tower, the general, who was bringing up the rear very slowly, was left at a considerable distance behind him; he was there informed, that Argyle had that morning taken possession of Stirling with seven hundred Highlanders; and therefore advanced directly with all the haste he could to the town, with his own command, in order, if possible, to surprise him; the gates he found shut, and strictly guarded, but getting admittance through the park, which the Scottish kings had formerly kept for deer, he there found a little gate, but so low and narrow that a man on horseback could not pass through it; and therefore alighting from his horse, this resolute and indefatigable general immediately broke down the gate, and entered the town; his men followed him very slowly, and only one by one, being retarded by the straitness of the passage; and when he first encountered the enemy, he had scarcely six to support him. Argyle's people being quite confounded with this unexpected attack, and at a loss what to do, nobody appearing to command them, were scattered abroad through the streets and lanes in the utmost disorder and confussion. Argyle

himself, their general, upon the first notice of the enemy having entered the town, secured his own safety, in his usual manner, by flight; and mounting a very swift horse, which he usually kept, rode directly towards the gate opposite to that by which the assailants had entered: Monro pursued him close; but by the fleetness of his horse, he escaped him like a deer before the hunters, and gained the bridge. However, the flight of his men was prevented; and of them near two hundred were killed, and the rest taken prisoners.

At length Lanark coming up, together with the Earls of Lindsay and Glencairn, who were the only persons admitted to the knowledge of his secret designs, they expressed a very great dislike at this gallant action of Monro; and Lindsay could not even prevent his sorrow from breaking out into this exclamation: "Woes me! that I should ever have seen this unlucky and mischievous day!" For they were much afraid that the two parties might, by this enterprise, be so far exasperated against each other, as to cut off all hope or inclination for the peace which they had projected.

The Earl of Lanark, notwithstanding, still practised the deepest dissimulation, both to his army and to the nobility and gentry who had not yet joined him, but whom he teased continually with letters for that purpose. Monro, however, and several others, also penetrated into his dark designs, particularly the men of Athole, who, though they

were Highlanders, and not perhaps so much polished as the inhabitants of the low country, yet were not without a good share of natural sagacity. They had been some time in arms, and had come down as far as Strathern, and from thence they sent a petition, directed to the general and such of the nobility as were along with him, praying, that, if they were really and in good earnest resolved to act for the interest of the king and country, they would, in virtue of the authority devolved upon them by the king and the last parliament, declare all those who opposed them, and particularly those forces which were convened at Edinburgh, guilty of rebellion and high treason. This they suggested as the most effectual expedient to settle the doubtful and fluctuating minds of the people; for, though, they said, they could make no question of the firm loyalty and courage of the general, and the other noblemen who adhered to him, yet there were not a few, whose assistance in the present exigency might be of no small moment, who were deterred from joining them, merely through the fear that a peace would speedily be clapped up with their enemies, which, besides being highly dishonourable to themselves, would undoubtedly prove ruinous and destructive to all that had joined them, and who would thereby be left in the lurch; for, should such a peace be concluded, which they could not think of without horror, what could they expect but curses and excommunications denoun-

ced against them by the kirk, and imprisonment, banishment, confiscations, and even death itself, from their cruel and implacable enemies. Many addresses and petitions of the same stamp were frequently presented to them, but to no effect; they at first declined giving any return to these just and reasonable requests; but they soon had the impudence to return nothing but evasive and deceitful answers. At length the Earl of Glencairn, cousin-german to the Hamiltons by the mother, and the Earl of Lindsay, their brother in-law, both of them strictly attached to that family, had the assurance to talk openly of concluding a peace with the enemy, of which they had hitherto treated only in a private and clandestine manner, without the participation of the rest of t eir party; and that not upon just and equitable terms, but upon whatever conditions they could obtain it. The army thereupon began to murmur, and even threatened to break out into an open mutiny; but the general endeavoured all he could to appease them, and, in a very artful insinuating way, began by recommending their resolution and bravery, but, at the same time, approved of Lindsay and Glencairn's disposition and endeavours for peace, thereby discovering, notwithstanding his public professions for continuing the war, that he was really in his own mind of their opinion, and privy to their intrigues. He complained, and accused them in a perplexed and confused manner, that they had be-

gun to treat with the enemy, without the knowledge, and even against the inclination of their general, and seemed willing to accept of a peace upon most uncertain, hard, and even intolerable conditions. At the same time, he glanced obliquely at those who expressed their dislike at any accommodation, and seemed to rejoice in the confusion and disorder of a civil war, and blamed their savage dispositions; and though he declared, that he himself would never accede to the hard conditions which the enemy were endeavouring to obtrude upon them, yet he obtested the army, by the love and regard they had to their families, friends, and relations, and the dangers to which they would be exposed, to acquiesce in them, however disagreeable. But few were so stupid as to believe, that these two peacemakers, who were entirely at his devotion, and did nothing without his order, would have ventured, without his privity, to treat with the enemy, or even to project any thing which in the smallest degree tended to an accommodation.

However, by these artifices it was brought about that Lindsay and Glencairn's advice was followed, and the peace at length concluded: though it had been strenuously opposed by a great part of the army, both soldiers and officers, and likewise by all the loyal part of the nobility and gentry of the kingdom: and those troops, which had been raised by the authority of the king and parliament, and were daily increasing by great numbers joining

them from all corners of the kingdom; without having undergone the least fatigue, or having received the least blow from the enemy, without being infected by any distemper, or suffering the smallest want of any kind, while they were all sound and in good health, well armed and well provided in every thing, were obliged to submit to the hardest and most dishonourable terms, prescribed by a parcel of cowardly rebels; fewer in number and inferior in strength, and hardly deserving the name of an army; levied and maintained not only without the sanction of the king and parliament, but in direct opposition to the laws of the land.

By the first articles of this ignominious peace it was expressly provided, that all those, both officers and soldiers, who had served under either of the Hamiltons, should immediately lay down their arms; such of them as were at Stirling, or in the neighbourhood, within two days; and such as were yet in the more distant parts of the kingdom, within fourteen days; and those who refused, to be adjudged guilty of high treason. All the nobility who were engaged in this last expedition with the Earl of Lanark, or had abetted or assisted those concerned in it any manner of way, were thereby ordained to sist themselves as criminals before the next meeting of the estates, in order to have their conduct examined and censured by them; but to have no voice there themselves. The co-

lonels, captains, and other officers, were all to be immediately cashiered, and declared incapable of holding any public office till they had openly testified their repentance, and satisfied the kirk; and this was extended also to the common soldiers. All the Irish were presently to depart Scotland betwixt and a certain day, under pain of death, if any of them should afterwards be found within the kingdom. And lastly, it was appointed, that all persons without distinction should compear before the presbyteries, and quietly subject themselves to such censures and penalties as they should please to inflict, under pain of excommunication.

Luckily that day on which the articles of pacification were proclaimed to the army, the soldiers were all dispersed through the country, and the villages round the town; otherwise a mutiny had certainly ensued. The few who were present testified their highest displeasure with them, and were hardly restrained from falling upon these worthy peac -makers, and hewing them to pieces; and though the Earl of Lanark endeavoured all he could to purge himself from having had any hand in bringing about the peace, yet the furious multitude, mad with rage, exclaimed in the midst of their grief, to his great disparagement and shame, "Oh Montrose! Montrose! now we feel what it is to want you! how unseasonably, and by what cruel misfortune are you banished from your native country at this juncture? Who shall restore

you to us again ? Under thy conduct and command, we, who are this day cashiered and treated as worthless cowards and faithless villains, would have easily defeated and subdued all the king's rebellious enemies, restored him to his throne, and settled his kingdoms in peace and tranquillity !" In short, the whole town rung with the complaints and lamentations of the soldiers, and curses and execrations against those who had, at one stroke, betrayed and ruined their king and country, abandoned a number of brave and resolute men to the mercy of their enemies, and left all good and loyal subjects to the absolute will and discretion of the very worst class of mankind : and so, taking their last farewell of one another, they separated, and dispersed themselves different ways, as chance or providence directed them. They were all in a very deplorable and miserable condition, but none more so than the Irish ; who, without money or provision, either to defray their charges on the road, or to pay for transporting them to their own country, were laid under the hard necessity of departing directly, under the pain of immediate death, should they make the smallest delay ; and while they were on the road, or preparing for their departure, some of them were stript of their clothes, others were wounded, severals were killed, and, in general, all of them were extremely ill treated by the country people, at the instigation of the west country ministers, upon the most inhuman and un-

christian pretence of avenging the cruelty of the Irish massacre on these poor men, who were entirely innocent of it.

Argyle and his faction having thus, without the stroke of a sword, obtained a complete victory, and thereby became absolute masters of every thing in Scotland, as the Independents were already in England, managed their affairs with the greatest industry and circumspection. The first thing they did, even while they were treating about the peace, was to invite Cromwell into Scotland. At his arrival in Edinburgh, Argyle received him with the highest tokens of friendship and respect; and, after complimenting him publicly, as one that had deserved highly of Scotland for defeating the Duke of Hamilton's army, he gave him a very grand and elegant entertainment; and afterwards conducted him to the castle, where he was received like a conqueror, under several discharges of the cannon. Before he departed, he entered into a private confederacy with Argyle and his party, not only for cutting off the king, whom he then held prisoner, and all his family, but for the utter extirpation of monarchy in Britain; for which purposes they engaged to contribute their mutual aid and assistance in support of one another. After Cromwell returned to England, he spoke of this among his friends as a most consummate piece of policy, and of greater moment than the victory he had obtained at Preston.

CHAP. IV.

Montrose leaves the queen's court.—Countenanced by the emperor at Prague.—Receives the news of the king's murder.—Attends King Charles II. at the Hague.—His advice opposed by Lanark and Lauderdale.—The Duke of Hamilton beheaded.

We have deduced the affairs of Scotland perhaps rather at greater length than is consistent with our designed brevity, principally for the information of foreigners, that they may see by what strange artifices, not Montrose alone, but even the king himself, were opposed in their measures by these pretended saints, who thereby brought slavery and ruin both on themselves and their native country.

This was the state of Scotland about the end of the year 1648. In the beginning of the year 1649, they received a yet more deplorable catastrophe; on the 30th of January, that black and dismal day, scarce ever to be expiated by these nations, the Independents, elated with their success hitherto, and actuated with fanatical rage and fury, or blinded with avarice and ambition, contrary to all laws, human and divine, dared to im-

brue their hands in the blood of their just and lawful sovereign, and inhumanly butchered the most religious, the most chaste, and the most merciful king, after having tried and condemned him, who was accountable to none but God alone. At this time, some persons sent by Argyle's party resided at London, as commissioners from the estates of Scotland to the English parliament, among whom the Earl of Lothian was the chief, an inveterate and implacable enemy to the king, notwithstanding that both he and his father had tasted very bountifully of his majesty's favour. These commissioners did not show the least displeasure or disapprobation of the barbarous and illegal sentence past against the king; for it seems it was one of their instructions, not to contradict or oppose the English in maintaining the right of the people to dethrone, or even to punish their king with death, if they saw cause. However, that they might be able to impose upon the unthinking multitude when they returned home, as if this horrid wickedness had been perpetrated without their consent, and against their will, they resolved not to be present at the execution; and, therefore, left the city on the day appointed for that horrid tragedy; wisely judging, that, though they thirsted earnestly after the blood of their sovereign, it was highly improper for them to glut their eyes with a spectacle which they knew would be detested by the whole Christian world beside. It was certain-

ly none of the least of this good king's misfortunes that most of those persons whom he himself, and his father, King James, had dignified with titles, and advanced to places of honour and profit, or otherwise enriched by their royal bounty, proved always the most ungrateful to him, and were ever found the first engaged, or the most forward in promoting the rebellion against him; while, on the contrary, those whom he experienced to be his most trusty, faithful, and obedient servants, were such as had never been regarded at court, and had never enjoyed any offices, or tasted of his liberality.

Montrose, who thoroughly knew the temper and disposition of the covenanters, had foreseen and publicly foretold all these calamities, and had endeavoured what lay in his power to prevent them, though to no purpose; for the king and queen being prepossessed with the specious pretences and promises of the Presbyterians, and blinded with the deceitful flattery of the Hamiltons and their party, lent no ear to his more wholesome counsel; which, when he perceived, with a sad and sorrowful heart, he left France, where he found he could be of no manner of service either to the king or himself; this he did without the queen's knowledge; but he left in writing the reasons and necessity of his departure, for which he humbly begged her pardon, and desired she would put

a favourable construction on the step he had taken.

He arrived at Geneva in the beginning of April, accompanied only with two gentlemen, both knights: and passing directly by Switzerland, he travelled through Tyrol, Bavaria, and Austria. The emperor, to whom he was bound, on purpose to solicit him both concerning the king's affairs and his own, happened then not to be at Vienna; however, he overtook him at Prague, where he was very kindly and graciously received, both on account of his brave achievements, and the eminent loyalty he had displayed towards his sovereign, the fame of which had already reached the most distant parts of Christendom. His imperial majesty removing from Prague a few days after, took Montrose along with him, and upon all occasions honoured him with signal marks of his esteem and regard; he made him one of his generals, and dignified him with the title of *Marshal* in the imperial army, for which he gave him a patent; and also a commission to raise some independent regiments, which he was to command apart, immediately under the emperor himself. He allowed him for that end to enlist, and even to impress, men in any part of the Roman empire, and to have the colonels, captains, and other officers, all of his own naming. These parts of Germany bordering upon Flanders were reckoned the most proper for hastening and facilitating his levies; and, therefore, after obtain-

ing the consent of the Spanish ambassador, he recommended him by letters in a particular manner to his brother Leopold, Archduke of Austria, at that time governor of the Spanish Netherlands; and desired that he would use his interest and authority to support and assist Montrose in his levies. His negociations thus succeeded entirely to his wish; for, being solely intent on retrieving the king's affairs, he desired to be near at hand, in case any occasion offered of serving him; and he was strongly prepossessed with the notion that the Presbyterians, to whom he had entrusted himself and his affairs, would at last betray him, and in the end cut him off.

Being honourably dismissed by the emperor, as the shorter road through Germany was occupied by hostile armies, he was obliged to take this route from Vienna by the way of Presburg in Hungary; from thence to Poland, and viewing Crackow, he went through Prussia, and came to Dantzic, the most eminent Hanse-town on the Baltic; and taking ship there, landed in Denmark, where he was very graciously received by his Danish majesty. Here he rested some days after the fatigue of this long and troublesome journey; and from thence passed into Jutland, and went aboard a ship bound for Groningen in Friesland, where he was no sooner arrived than he immediately set out for Brussels. The archduke had retired to Tournay,

after his late defeat at Lens :* Montrose made all haste thither ; and having delivered his brother the emperor's letters, and complimented him in his name, he solicited his advice and assistance in what concerned the affairs of his imperial majesty : but after the loss of that gallant army, which he had lately sustained, such jealousies, tumults, and confusion prevailed through all Flanders, that he could do nothing at that time ; and, therefore, delayed the matter till he should return to Brussels ; and how soon he arrived there, he laid the affair before the senate, that they might deliberate on the most proper methods of assisting the emperor, and issue the necessary orders for putting them into execution.

While these things were under consideration at Brussels, Montrose received letters from his Royal Highness Charles Prince of Scotland and Wales, who was then residing at the Hague, full of expressions of the highest esteem and confidence ; and at the same time desiring him to come thither : for those who were about the prince, and were zealous in his service, especially Prince Rupert, who had always agreed with Montrose in his sentiments of the Presbyterians, had prevailed with him, of himself extremely desirous to have Montrose about him, to send for him at this time :

* He was defeated by the Prince of Conde, August 20, 1648, and lost seven thousand men, thirty-two cannon, and an hundred standards.

for the Duke of Hamilton having lost a brave army in England, and his brother the Earl of Lanark having shamefully abandoned and dispersed a much finer one in Scotland; and the Presbyterians and loyalists being now reduced to a very low ebb in both kingdoms, Montrose was the only person left who had all the good will and resolution necessary for attempting any thing in Scotland in the present juncture. He had indeed been hitherto but ill used, and his advice never followed, nor his service ever accepted of but in the execution of the most desperate undertakings; however, they knew him to be a person of that unshaken loyalty and magnanimity, that, notwithstanding all this, he would readily expose himself to any danger, or run any risk, for promoting the service of his dearest lord and master.

Montrose being certainly informed of the prince's sentiments, and of his confidence in him, after taking his leave of the archduke, was preparing to set out for the Hague, when he received the doleful news of the king's being murdered by the English Independents. Good God! what horror seized him at the first, and as yet uncertain reports of the death of this excellent king, for whom he had always the most sincere regard! But when the accounts of this barbarous parricide were confirmed, and there remained no more room to doubt the truth of it, his indignation was then heightened into fury, and his grief

quite overwhelmed him, so that he fainted, and fell down in the midst of his attendants, all the members of his body becoming stiff, as if he had been quite dead. At length, when he recovered, after many deep sighs and groans, he broke out into these words, " We ought not any longer to live we ought to die with our excellent sovereign ! God, who has the power of life and death, is my witness, that henceforth this life will be a grievous and uneasy burden, in which I can enjoy no pleasure." I, who write this history, happened to be one of those present ; and though I was inexpressibly afflicted, and hardly able to support my own grief, yet I endeavoured to comfort and encourage him, and thus addressed him : " Die, my lord? No! It is now your business, who are so justly famed for your bravery ; it is now the business of all resolute good men to be rather more desirous of life, and to summon up all their courage, that, by engaging in a just war, they may avenge the death of their royal master upon these base and inhuman parricides, and endeavour to settle the prince, his son and lawful successor, upon the throne of his ancestors. These are the funeral obsequies which are due to our deceased sovereign ; this conduct will be more answerable to your distinguished loyalty, constancy, and resolution, than weakly to despond and sink, even under the greatest misfortunes, such as our present distress must be acknowledged ; which would

highly gratify our wicked enemies, by giving them a complete victory, and affording them matter of the greatest triumph." He heard me patiently in his usual complacent manner; but at the mention of avenging the king's murder, the very thoughts of which gave him new life, he revived from his former disorder, and being somewhat more composed, he replied, "Well then, in that view alone, I shall be satified to live; but I swear before God, angels, and men, that I will dedicate the remainder of my life to the avenging the death of the royal martyr, and re-establishing his son upon his father's throne." Having spoke these words, he withdrew to the most retired apartment of the house, where he indulged his grief for two days, without allowing any mortal to speak to him, or even to see him. At length, upon the third day, I was indulged with admittance to his bed-chamber, and there found that short, but elegant poem, which he had composed in the interval, to the memory of the king; it is wrote by way of vow, and fully expresses the fixed and unalterable resolutions of his mind, for he was a man of an excellent genius, and when he had any spare time from public business, used to divert himself with poetical compositions, in which he succeeded very happily. I have turned this poem into Latin, as I could; * I do not pretend to have

* Dr Wishart's Latin translation, together with the original

come up to the fire and spirit of the original; but if I have retained the sense and meaning of the noble author, it may perhaps be no unacceptable present to such as are unacquainted with the English language.

Charles, the second of that name, succeeding to his father, as rightful and lawful King of Great Britain, by hereditary right, sent for Montrose as soon as grief for his father's death and decency would permit; and gave him many signal tokens of his kindness and esteem. He first gave him a commission to be lieutenant-governor of Scotland, and commander-in-chief of all his forces there, both by sea and land, with the same powers, and conceived almost in the same terms, with the commission formerly granted him for these offices, by his royal father. He likewise appointed him his ambassador to the Emperor, the King of Denmark, the Princes of Germany, and others his confederates and allies, to solicit their assistance in men, money, arms, and ammunition, for renewing the war; with ample power and authority to enter into such treaties and alliances, and upon such conditions, in the name of his royal master, as he should see convenient: and, still more to evidence his regard for him, his credentials recommended him to the different courts where he was to negociate, in the most pressing terms, and full of the greatest respect.

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itself, and other specimens of the marquis's poetical genius, will be found in the Appendix.

The king's affairs seemed now beginning to take a happy turn, and people were sanguine in their hopes, that they would soon see them brought to a desirable issue; when the Earl of Lanark came, as usual, to blast these promising appearances. He and his dependant, the Earl of Lauderdale, had come in great haste to Holland, pretending they had been obliged to fly from Scotland; but the real purpose of their coming was to oppose Montrose's wholesome councils, and to frustrate his loyal designs; in which he and his brother the duke had often been too busy and too successful, with the late king. Montrose's advice was, that the king should go himself in person to Scotland as soon as possible, that by his presence and example he might animate his faithful subjects, who were far more numerous than the rebels, to rise in arms. He assured his majesty, that the people, now sufficiently instructed by the dear-bought experience of former times, were fully aware of the tricks and artifices of the rebels, both Presbyterians and Independents; and heartily abhorred the invectives and calumnies against the king, with which their fanatical preachers used to stuff their sermons, of design to alienate the affections of the vulgar from that allegiance due to their sovereign. The minds of most people were shocked and inflamed to the highest degree, at the barbarity of the king's recent murder, and were prone to revenge it; therefore it would be highly improper, and ex-

tremely dangerous, to make any delay; as thereby the minds of the people would get time to cool, and their rage to subside; and the enemy would likewise have an opportunity of augmenting their strength, both by force and fraud, a thing by all means to be prevented: besides, many of those who had been formerly bitter enemies to the king were now sensible of their error, and ready to become good aad obedient subjects; and the presence of the king would of itself be equal to several thousand men; so that there was no reason to fear the want of an army. All dispatch imaginable ought therefore to be used for his voyage, and not a day nor an hour ought to be lost; for in such a juncture every minute was precious. The Earls of Seaforth and Kinnoul, the Lord St Clair, and others of the nobility, concurred with Montrose in the same opinion, and had come to Holland merely to give the king that advice. But the Earl of Lanark was of a different mind: he said, that nothing ought to be done rashly: a new king ought to suspect every body, and every advice; and the affections of the people ought first to be secured, before he trusted his person among them in such a dangerous enterprise. He represented the extraordinary influence which the clergy, who had always been inveterate enmies to the king, still retained among the populace; and that the power of Argyle's faction was now very great, and supported by the name and authority of the

estates, who were all of their side : so that the king's affairs had in general a very bad aspect. He therefore advised to treat with the estates in a friendly, but circumspect manner, and to attempt nothing without their consent. He inveighed in a very tragical strain against the cruelty, perfidy, and seditious tempers of that party, who, he said, were incensed against himself, merely for his attachment to the royal family ; yet notwithstanding, he endeavoured to persuade the king to trust himself entirely to them, and expect to be restored by those who had brought his father's head to the block. The king himself was most inclined to Montrose's opinion ; which, when Lanark perceived, he strove, by the assistance of the courtiers, to make some ill impressions on his young and easy temper, by representing Montrose as a rash, forward, and ambitious man ; one who took too much pleasure in shedding the blood of his countrymen, and was ready to promise much more than he was able to perform. These insinuations had no effect on the mind of the king ; but they so far answered Lanark's intention, that much time was thereby spent in deliberating what should be done ; and Montrose met with many new and needless rubs and delays.

The king loved Montrose and feared Lanark. He wished to have them both particularly attached to his service ; but since he found it would be impossible to reconcile them in opinion, he laboured

all he could to reconcile their private affections, which seemed to be much inflamed against one another. Montrose, with the strongest asseverations, declared, that he never bore any private grudge against the family of Hamilton; that the first rise of the difference betwixt them, which had continued till that time, was, that he thought they never dealt sincerely in what related to the king's affairs; and that, notwithstanding their protestations of duty and loyalty, they had been the cause of more mischief to the king, than all the attempts of his open and declared enemies: for that, by their treacherous and pernicious counsels, they had weakened the strength, and frustrated the endeavours of his majesty's friends; and, at the same time, gave new life and vigour to the rebels, with whom they preserved a close and constant correspondence. He complained, that no arguments could hitherto, nor even then, prevail upon them vigorously to support the royal cause, and thoroughly and openly to desert the party of the covenanted rebels in Scotland, who were undoubtedly the implacable enemies of the king and royal family, whatever denomination they assumed, either of the estates of the kingdom, or commissioners of the kirk; but that all the expressions of their loyalty had been doubtful and ambiguous, and all their attempts for the king faint and inconsistent. But if the Earl of Lanark and his party would at length seriously repent of what they had done, re-

turn heartily to their allegiance, and promise to have no farther intercourse with the rebels in time coming, he professed himself ready to forget all that was past, and to engage with them in the strictest ties of friendship, upon this condition, that they should emit a public declaration, testifying their hatred and abhorrence of the rebellious confederacy entered into amongst the Scots themselves, and afterwards betwixt them and the English; and, in general, of all leagues and associations among the subjects, made without the knowledge and consent of the king; particularly that called *the Solemn League and Covenant;* that they esteemed the rising in arms against the king, both in Scotland and England, to be no other than a wicked and actual rebellion; and that the authors and abettors of it were guilty of high treason; that Charles the Second, now by the grace of God rightful and lawful sovereign of Great Britain, ought and might justly avenge the murder of his royal father, and endeavour to recover his paternal throne by force of arms: and, lastly, that they should solemnly promise to give their utmost assistance to the king, and those commissioned by him, for obtaining these just ends, and venture both life and fortune in the quarrel.

Lanark and Lauderdale, who, in the private audiences they had of the king, never failed to accuse the estates of the kingdom, as they were then constituted, of treachery, cruelty, rebellion, and others

the worst of crimes; yet took special care not to offend them, by speaking or writing publicly against them; and therefore they returned an answer in very perplexed and ambiguous terms: neither did they sufficiently explain themselves concerning the king's title and prerogative, which sometimes, indeed, they used to extol by the bye, but craftily declined to talk of it in public. On the contrary, they highly magnified the authority, power, and strength of the estates of Scotland, and maintained, that it would be much more for his highness's interest to wait their opinion, and to be settled upon his father's throne with their consent, and by their authority, than to attain to his just rights at the expence of the blood of his subjects, and by laying waste and destroying his native country: the last method they could never approve of, nor could they enter into any friendship with those who advised the king to plunge the nation into a civil war, however just and reasonable it might be; particularly with Montrose, who had been banished, forfeited, and intercommuned, for what he had done in that way, when he acted under the late king's commission.

In the mean time, the Duke of Hamilton, who had been detained prisoner in England ever since the defeat at Preston, was beheaded at London by the Independents; and thus, by the just judgment of God, he succeeded his murdered sovereign, and fell by the unjust and cruel sentence of the same

inhuman parricides. It is said, that, having consulted a wizard many years before, he received this response, "The king shall die a violent death, and the fates have ordained you to be his successor." So, perhaps, some evil spirit deluded this ambitious man, who became indeed successor to his sovereign, not in the throne, as he vainly expected, but in the scaffold. *

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* Sir James Turner, in his MS. Memoirs, thus characterizes the Duke of Hamilton:—"They beheaded him as Earle of Cambridge, and so an peere of England, without haveing any regard at all to the articles he had for life. Bot in this, I suppose Cromwell did nothing without advice from Scotland. Heere I cannot but bewaile the fate of that unfortunate lord, who was a person of excellent qualities, of great understanding, and good expressions, curteous, affable, humane, so merciful, that he was bot a bad justitiare, which I thought was a blemish on him; one of the best masters to vassals and tennants that our kingdome afforded. His constellation had inclined and appointed him to be a good statesman, and to be happie in the enjoyment of his prince's favour, the *summum bonum* of courtiers, bot to be vnfortunate in all his military employments both by sea and land. Most unhappie he was in his honour, which was branded most part of his life with foul aspersions of disloyalty and treacherie, neither will venemous tongues suffer his ashes to ly quiet, bot cast dust upon them, as if he had dyd as a foole. I had onlie the honor to know him when he was my generall, and I beleeve he was faithfull to his soveraigne all his life; bot in the time he had the conduct of that vnfortunate army, I dare sweare the deepest oath for his fidelitie and loyaltie, and that he intended nothing but the full restoration of the king, for whom he dyed a martire."

CHAP. V.

The proclamation of the estates, declaring Charles II. King of Scotland, brought to the Hague.—The Earl of Cassilis and other commissioners arrive there.—The Marquis of Huntly beheaded.—The demands of the estates presented to the king by their commissioners.—The opinion of the Scots peers concerning them.—The king leaves them, and goes to France.

At this juncture, a messenger * arrived at the Hague, from those who assumed the name of the estates of Scotland, who, after assuring the king of the sincere affections of the estates, presented to him a proclamation, wherein they had declared him the rightful heir and successor of his father, and lawful King of Scotland. The Presbyterians, and those of the Hamilton faction, congratulated themselves highly upon this occasion, and boasted of it as a special and immediate blessing from heaven to support what they had advanced; and openly declaimed against all those who had dissuaded the king from depending upon the estates, who had so eminently displayed their affection and loyalty to the king. And truly had they been

* This person's name was Sir Joseph Douglas.

sincere in the matter, and done all this from a sense of the duty they owed to their sovereign, nobody could have denied but it was very encouraging and satisfactory; but the more discerning sort immediately perceived the base plot they had laid to ruin the king, and subvert the monarchy; for, perceiving that the people, much enraged at the murder of the late king, were bent upon revenging it, and fully resolved to assert his son's right as heir to his father, and invite him home to take the government upon him; in order to deceive them, they issued out this proclamation, not with an intention to restore the king, but entirely to overturn the royal authority, and assume the whole power into their hands. For they had not only in many things altered the coronation oath formerly in use, but had added a new oath of their own contrivance to serve their purpose.

The proclamation itself was very oddly conceived: they mentioned in it the death of the king, as violent indeed; but they did not brand it with the name of regicide, as it deserved, yea, not even of murder; nor did they bestow the smallest epithet upon it, to testify their abhorrence and indignation of the horrid villany and injustice of it, or that they in the least disapproved it. There were many other things in it which seemed extraordinary; but, above all, it appeared intolerable and amazing to all good men, that, when they acknowledged the

king to be their lawful sovereign, they should, with the same breath, withhold him from the exercise of his royal power, till he had satisfied the estates, whom they called the parliaments, of both kingdoms. This was not to declare him king, but to sist him as a pannel before them: for what was this, but to deprive him of the free exercise of his authority, by offering him a precarious power; and to make him, who was their supreme governor on earth, accountable to God alone, their inferior and dependent, and subject to their control? Nay, what was this, but to throw their young innocent king into the hands, and make him become a fresh victim to the fury and hatred, not only of his mad Scots subjects, who had already persevered so long in their unnatural rebellion, but also of the English rebels and regicides, whose hands had been imbrued, and were still reeking with the blood of his royal father. By such just reflections as these upon the proclamation of the estates, the high encomiums that were passed upon their affection and loyalty by the Presbyterians would have been soon repressed in the court, had they not received some fresh supplies of the same kind from their friends in Scotland.

When the accounts of the great interest and favour which Montrose had with the young king reached Scotland, the people there were differently affected with it. The loyalists were glad of it, and presaged that some good might accrue from it; but

the rest were much afraid, and the estates in particular dreaded the consequences. They knew Montrose's innate resolution and bravery, and had often experienced the effects of them ; and besides, they perceived that great numbers, now sensible of their error, and heartily repenting of their former conduct, would be as ready as the old cavaliers to list under Montrose when he should appear. And, therefore, they thought it very necessary to take all possible means to prevent his return to Scotland, either alone as deputy-governor and general, or even as one of the king's retinue ; for they saw that he would carry off the whole country to his side, which would prove the inevitable ruin of all who had consented to the king's murder. For this purpose, the Earl of Cassilis, one of the first nobility, with others of an inferior rank, were sent to Holland as commissioners from the estates to the king, all of them to the utmost degree bigoted to the new fanatical superstition, and inflamed with an utter abhorrence of monarchical government. Their commission, as they pretended and published through all Europe, was to invite home the king, and settle him upon the ancient and hereditary throne of his ancestors ; but their real design was to disappoint Montrose's councils, and by flattering the king with the specious hopes of peace, and of his subjects returning to their allegiance, to divert him from any intention of prosecuting the war, till that favourable opportunity was lost.

In the mean time, lest these proceedings should give umbrage to their associate regicides in England, they gave them a melancholy proof that they had not altered their sentiments; they had not in their power another king to murder, and, therefore, pitched upon one of his greatest subjects, the Marquis of Huntly, chief of the name of Gordon, whom, after a very long and tedious imprisonment, they beheaded most unjustly; the Marquis, besides his noble birth, in which he was inferior to no subject, was a person of such power in the north country, as made him dreaded by all his neighbours; he had a great estate, many friends, vassals, and followers,—was of a most graceful presence, and his mind endued with the greatest virtues; he had stuck firm to the royal cause from the beginning of the troubles, and on that account, and that only, he was become so hateful to the covenanters, that they resolved to make him a sacrifice, so that, if we do but except that unlucky difference he had with Montrose, which indeed proved hurtful to the king and country, the marquis had few equals. That same day that the commissioners were to sail from the Frith of Forth * was appointed for the execution of this great man; whence the king might have easily conjectured what was to be expected from such men, who thus

* March 22, 1649.

daily wantoned in the blood of his best and most faithful subjects.

When these commissioners, or deputies from the estates, were admitted to their first audience of the king, their solemn gait, their grave dress, and dejected countenances, had all the appearance imaginable of humility: and many who were not acquainted with the temper and practices of the men, from thence concluded that they were about to implore of his majesty a general oblivion and pardon for what was past, and to promise a perfect obedience and submission in time coming; and that they were ready to yield every thing to him that was just and reasonable, and would be sincere in all their proposals of peace and accommodation. They acted in a double capacity, and had instructions both from the estates and from the commission of the kirk; in both of which the Earl of Cassilis was the chief person, not only in what they were charged with from the estates, as being a nobleman, but also from the commission of the kirk, of which he was a ruling elder. Their address to the king was introduced with abundance of deep sighs and heavy groans, as if they had been labouring, as Virgil says of the Sybil, to shake the ponderous load from off their breasts, after which they at last exhibited their papers, containing the ordinances of the estates, and acts of the commission of the kirk, and pretended, that the terms demanded in them were moderate, just, and reasonable, and ab-

solutely necessary for settling the present confusions, and restoring the king; with which, if he complied, he would be immediately settled upon his father's throne by the unanimous consent of all the people.

When these papers came to be considered in his majesty's council, they appeared at first view to be extremely unjust and unreasonable, and contrived rather to fright him from seeking the government, than to invite him to accept it; for they contained nothing but bitter accusations against their late king, and snares laid for betraying and enslaving the son. In short, they principally comprehended three things; first, That the king should sign and swear, not only to the national covenant, but to the solemn league and covenant of the three kingdoms; that he should establish them by his authority, and promote the ends and purposes of them to the utmost of his power through all his dominions. Secondly, That he should ratify and confirm all the acts and ordinances of the estates of Scotland, which had approven of the covenant and the solemn league, and established the Presbyterian church-government, that rule of divine worship which they called *the directory, the confession of faith, and the catechism;* and that he should also readily grant his royal assent to all acts and ordinances of any other of the estates of his majesty's dominions, which might thereafter establish them; that he should conform himself to them, especially

as to divine worship, whether private or public; that he should renounce the liturgy of the church of England, and adopt this new directory, and solemnly promise never to oppose or alter it in the smallest degree. The third demand, which alone had been sufficient, for it comprehends all the rest, was, That he should solemnly promise and declare, that, in matters civil, he should acquiesce in whatever should be enacted by the present or succeeding parliaments; and, in matters ecclesiastical, should be determined by the acts of the General Assembly, to which all ranks, princes, nobility, and people, were to be subject and obedient.

The king entreated them, if they had orders to make any more demands, that they would produce them all together, that so an answer might be returned to the whole at once. He begged them not to be so high and obstinate in their conditions, but to mitigate them in the beginning as far as their instructions would allow; and that they would acquaint him more distinctly and fully what assistance he might expect from them, for the recovery of England and Ireland; and lastly, that they would now declare and publish to the world their thoughts of the horrid murder committed upon the king his father, of blessed memory, and of the barbarous authors and instruments of it, concerning which they had not made the least mention. They replied, That the sum of what they were charged with was comprehended in these

three articles, and that they had nothing else to represent but what related to them, unless they received new instructions from the estates for that purpose. They insisted, that their demands were not only just and honourable, but absolutely necessary, as being founded upon the Holy Scriptures, and of divine institution; so that it would be no less than impiety in them to yield in any point, or recede from them in the smallest degree. And as to the assistance which his majesty demanded, for the reduction of England and Ireland, he might expect that the estates would afford him such succours as they should judge necessary, and agreeable to the articles of the solemn league and covenant. Thus, in dark and ambiguous terms, they replied to all the questions put to them, excepting that concerning the murder of the king, as to which they hesitated extremely; they were ashamed to approve or commend it in his majesty's presence, neither durst they condemn it, lest the English, being thereby exasperated, should upbraid them as joint partakers and associates in the same crime, and thereby disappoint their present schemes. And though the king pressed them continually upon this head, and urged it more than any thing else, he could extort no other answer from them but complaints and expostulations, as if his majesty had entertained a suspicion of the estates of Scotland concerning it.

A great deal of time was spent in these debates; * during which the commissioners were busied making interest with the Prince of Orange and the most eminent men in the United Provinces, with the Danish and other ambassadors, to use their mediation, as neutral persons, with the king, and prevail with him to accept of the terms offered him by the estates. And, to induce them to accept of that office, their constant topic was the affection and loyalty of the estates to the king, whom they were ready to admit and settle upon his father's throne, and to pay him all submission and allegiance, providing he would only renounce the episcopal government of the church, and accept of the Presbyterian model, which they alleged was the same with the church-government in Hol land, Geneva, and other reformed churches; though in reality they are very different, and in many things very opposite; and if he did not consent to that measure, they affirmed that there was no hope of his ever recovering the crown. How-

* One of the principal points urged upon the king was the removal from his person and court of James Graham, "sometime Earl of Montross, a person excommunicate by the church, and forfaulted by the parliament of Scotland, being a man most justly, if ever any, cast out of the church of God." See an account of the proceedings of the commissioners, (printed at Edin. 1649,) where, in another place, the earl is termed that unhappy and cursed man, James Graham.

ever, these insinuations would have but small effect with the most part of people, if Lanark, who had now the title of Duke of Hamilton, since his brother's death, and Lauderdale, who lay and acted behind the curtain, had not approved and supported all they said; and by their means many were induced to be of opinion that the king, considering the present state of his affairs, might and ought to yield to their demands, however hard and unreasonable; for these foreigners, being unacquainted with the state of affairs in Britain at that time, did not penetrate into the dark designs of the rebels, nor perceive that they struck not only at the king, but even at the root and foundation of monarchy itself.

That all the Christian world might know the king's love of peace, and that he was inclined to comply with every thing, consistent with his honour and a good conscience, to satisfy his Scots subjects, he applied to the Scots peers, of whom there were a good many then in Holland, and charged them, upon their duty and allegiance, to give him their opinion separately in writing concerning the propositions of the Scots commissioners. Hamilton and Lauderdale, and their faction, with an obstinate and unbecoming sullenness, refused to do this, though it be the duty of the nobility, established both by ancient custom, and by the laws of Scotland. But Montrose, Seaforth, Kinnoul, St Clair, and others, yielded a ready

obedience. They declared it as their opinion, and proved, by many invincible arguments, " That these demands were against all laws, human and divine, and particularly repugnant to the laws of Scotland: that they were disrespectful to the memory of the royal martyr, insidious to his son and lawful successor, and threatened destruction to the whole royal posterity, being such as all good men ought to be ashamed of and abhor. The main design of them was no other than to lay the blame of all the mischief that had happened in Britain to the door of their innocent king; and to authorize and establish their detestable leagues and covenants, which had already occasioned the effusion of so much innocent blood among all ranks, the royal family not excepted; and which, like the Trojan horse, pregnant with mischief, would quickly pour down upon the distressed nation a heavy deluge of new seditions, rebellion, war, rapine, murder, and parricide, to the utter ruin and devastation of the whole kingdom. If these propositions were yielded to, the consequences would be that then the king, who by right should succeed his father as sovereign of the kingdom, would enjoy nothing but the vain and empty title of royalty; and even that, together with his life itself, would be precarious; and both must depend upon the pleasure of a set of men, the most distrustful and furious upon earth, plunged in the deepest gloom of melancholy and superstition, and the declared and irreconcileable

enemies of kings and all lawful authority; the whole power and government would then be lodged in the hands of these men, who, conscious of the many crimes committed against the father, would never reckon themselves secure while any of his posterity were alive. The episcopal government, under which religion had so much flourished in all ages of the church, both before and since the reformation, would be thereby abolished, and the intolerable tyranny of presbytery, as it is now established in Scotland, would be introduced, which in cruelty, pride, avarice, luxury, and lust of power, far surpasses the very worst times of the papal usurpation. The worst of rebels and regicides would not only go unpunished for their execrable crimes; but being advanced to the highest honours and places, and enriched with the sacrilegious spoils of the church-lands, and the crown-revenues of their murdered sovereign, would govern all, and glory and triumph in their conquest; while the king himself, and all his loyal and brave subjects who had adhered unto him, and their posterity, would be exposed to the rage, insolence, and revenge of their cruel and malicious enemies. They could not think without horror, that a Christian king, contrary to the duty which he owes to his parents, to his brethren, to his friends, to God and men, should ratify and approve their wicked ordinances, by which, under the pretence of supporting and promoting their

solemn league and covenant, all his subjects were obliged to rise in rebellion against their sovereign, whereby they at length brought him to the scaffold; and by which they drove his royal consort the queen out of her husband's dominions, and banished and imprisoned the royal infants, who still continue under these calamities. In short, they suspected that this treaty was chiefly calculated, and these difficulties designedly thrown in the way, only to protract the time till Cromwell, that inhuman and bloody regicide, with whom they kept an intimate correspondence, and who had already subdued England, should also conquer Ireland, which he was attempting, and might then pour all his forces into Scotland, and secure them of their ill-gotten power.

"For these and many other convincing reasons, they all unanimously declared, that the king could not, upon such unjust terms, enter into any stipulation with those who arrogantly assumed the title of the estates of Scotland: and that, if he had any regard to conscience towards God, duty to his parents, concern for posterity, his own reputation abroad, or safety and authority at home, he was to expect other kind of messages, and other kind of requests from them, such as should express some sense of a serious, though late, repentance for their crimes, and of a real design to restore the king. But, in their opinion, there was no other way left to reclaim these people, who

were become obstinate and hardened in their rebellion, and reduce them to their duty and obedience, but by a just and necessary war."

These arguments were so conclusive, and their force so evident, that neither the commissioners from the estates, nor Hamilton and Lauderdale, who did them all the service they could, were able to answer them; and the king being thereby convinced, came entirely into Montrose's opinion. But by what fatality, or by whose advice, the expedition into Scotland was laid aside, and changed to a descent upon Ireland, I do not know. In order to prepare for the latter, the king set out for France, and Montrose and most part of the nobility attended him as far as Brussels. The commissioners of the estates, agreeable to the usual freedom they had been accustomed to take with majesty, accused and virulently aspersed the king, because he had not yielded to their requests, and had rejected their offers of peace. At the same time, they were extremely overjoyed that he had altered his intended journey to Scotland, where they were so much afraid of his presence; which, on the contrary, the people, wearied with the tyrannical oppression and cruelty of these insolent and imperious rebels, wished for in the most ardent manner.

CHAP. VI.

Montrose prepares for a descent upon Scotland.—The state of that kingdom.—His disappointments.—He lands in Caithness.—Strachan, Lesly, and Holburn, sent against him.—He publishes his declaration.—Defeated by Strachan.—Apprehended by the Laird of Assint, and delivered to David Lesly.

THE descent upon Scotland which Montrose had projected, was indeed a very arduous and dangerous enterprise, but not so rash or desperate as some malicious people have endeavoured to represent. There were many things which encouraged him to hope it might prove successful. He had received many letters from the nobility in Scotland, inviting him to undertake it, and promising him all manner of assistance; at the same time assuring him, that the greatest part of the people were ready to join him, and would have no other general than himself to command them. And, indeed, the north country was not yet settled; Mackenzie, brother to the Earl of Seaforth, who was the king's lieutenant there, the Lord Rae, and other loyalists, had possessed themselves of Inverness, and, after demolishing the fortifications, had marched in arms through the shire of Murray, and crossed the river

Spey. The state of affairs in Ireland was also very encouraging; the Marquis of Ormond, lieutenant-governor, and general of the king's forces there, was very successful; and General Monro, and several others, were afterwards sent to him, with the king's particular orders, and a commission from Montrose, to stipulate with him a mutual assistance, as there should be occasion. All the king's friends in England, who were not tainted with the leaven of the Presbyterians, openly declared, that, after being so shamefully deceived and deserted by the Hamiltons, the Marquis of Montrose was the only Scotsman whom they could and ought to trust, but that with him they were ready to encounter any danger to retrieve the king's affairs. Some of the electors and princes of Germany promised their assistance, and the emperor himself engaged to summon a diet of the empire, and represent to them the injuries done to the King of Britain, which merited the resentment of all the crowned heads in Europe. There was no reason to doubt of the good inclinations of the King of Denmark; and his ambassador at the Hague had given the strongest assurances of assistance both to the king himself and to Montrose. Hopes were likewise conceived of as powerful succours from the illustrious Queen of Sweden, as from any other friend or ally of the king, both on account of the ancient alliances that subsisted between the kingdoms, and of the natural goodness,

justice, and magnanimity, of that incomparable heroine, who, in these and other virtues, much resembled her father and grandfather. Little was to be expected from the French and Spaniards, who were then engaged in a mutual war, but it was expected that the King of Poland, and the Duke of Courland, would be among the most forward in assisting the king. Particular envoys were sent by his majesty to these several princes, to solicit their aid, and to beg, that what succours they could afford might be conveyed to Montrose * as soon as possible, to fit him for the intended invasion. However, he never received any benefit by these embassies, which was not owing to the fault or neglect of these princes, who were friendly enough, but to the base artifices and unaccountable villany of the Presbyterians, who not only ruined Montrose, but, if Providence had not remarkably intervened, would certainly have also ruined the king, and enslaved their native country and their posterity.

For, besides their having bribed and corrupted most of the people about the court, who are generally a faithless race of men, to oppose and thwart Montrose's measures with the king, as far as they could; which at least had this bad effect, that it retarded the execution of the most important affairs;

* Hamburgh was the place appointed for their rendezvous.

they likewise sent their emissaries to all the courts of Europe, which were inclined to assist and support the king, clothed with letters of recommendation, obtained upon very different pretences from his majesty, who little suspected the wicked purposes for which they were to be employed; who endeavoured to make it be believed, that the king had been invited home to take the government of Scotland upon him, on conditions highly just and reasonable, and by no means to be rejected; that they still earnestly wished he would agree to them, as it was the only means by which he could recover his crown, and reign over his subjects in peace and safety; and that those who advised him to pursue other measures, postponed the king's interest to their own private views; particularly those who demanded assistance of men, money, arms, and ships, from foreign princes in the king's name; seeing that such assistance was at that time not only useless and ill timed, but might prove extremely detrimental to his interest, by alienating from him the minds and affections of his good and loyal subjects; that such succours would then only be seasonable and thankfully accepted of, when his majesty, being fully settled in Scotland, should demand them by an honourable embassy, sent for that purpose, with consent of his estates: but, in the mean time, they advised them not to be too prodigal of their men and treasures, at a time

when they would contribute so little to the advantage of their friend and ally. *

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Montrose first addressed himself to the Dukes of Brandenburgh and Holstein, from the last of whom he received three or four very fine vessels, well manned, which were kept a great while at Amsterdam to no purpose. This prince would have willingly contributed much more to that service, but that he perceived that what he had already given was so misemployed; in which both he and the marquis were grossly abused, as will appear from what follows. Great were the promises which had been made to the marquis by many other princes; but they proved very slack in their performance; so that the assistance which was so generally expected proved little more than mere formality and compliment. But the season of the

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* Here the bishop's narration stops; and it would appear from the MS. that the intermediate history, from this time till Montrose was brought up to Edinburgh to his execution, had never been finished by him, there being a great blank left in it: the remainder of this chapter, together with the seventh, is therefore supplied from a continuation of the first part of these memoirs, which were translated and published in England in the year 1652, under the title of *Montrose redivivus*; or, *the Portraiture of James Marquis of Montrose, &c. in his actions and in his passions.*

year being now fit for action, he resolved, with what speed he could, to call together what he could get; and for that purpose removed to Hamburgh, from whence he might have a speedy and convenient passage to the northern isles of Scotland. But before we proceed further, it will not be impertinent to take a slight view of the condition of that kingdom, whither this expedition was intended.

Scotland was then in a reasonable posture of quiet; for the old grudges were raked up for a while, by removing the principal heads of the opposite parties, whereof some had suffered at Philiphaugh, and others were detained prisoners in England, or banished; and a certain number of horse and foot, modelled into an army, was mustered and disposed of in several places of the kingdom, to prevent any foreign invasion, or suppress any home-bred insurrection, if such should happen. These were commanded by David Lesly, Colonel Montgomery, Colonel Strachan, and some others, under Holburn as lieutenant-general; and amounted in all to fifteen hundred horse, and three thousand foot. This handful did at that time overawe and keep under the discontented party, though far more numerous; for, besides those who had been disbanded by the Earl of Lanark and Major-general Monro at the bridge of Stirling, there flocked daily out of England great numbers who had escaped from prison, who, finding their estates se-

questered and seized upon, and being at the same time proceeded against in the most tyrannical manner by the hot-headed ministers, desired nothing more than an opportunity of revenge. Besides these, there were a considerable number of the marquis's own name, who, with the Gordons, the men of Athole, and others of his party in the north country, were ready, and would undoubtedly have come to his assistance, had he not been crushed at his first entry.

This situation of things made the marquis appear like a prodigious meteor hanging over their heads, which awakened the attention of those who sat at the helm of affairs, whom, indeed, it principally concerned, to endeavour to defeat his attempts both at home and abroad; and for this purpose commissioners were a second time dispatched to wait upon the king, then at Breda, to try and prevail upon him to accept of the invitation they had formerly sent him, though without abating in the least of the extravagancy of their former propositions.

In the mean time, Montrose, who had now gathered together a company of very gallant gentlemen, both Scots and English, was making all possible haste for his expedition. He dispatched Colonel John Ogilvy to Amsterdam, to entertain such strangers as might offer themselves there for his purpose; but the colonel, forgetting his commission, bestowed both money and time in enter-

taining himself, suffering those who would have engaged upon any terms to shift for themselves; of whom there were not a few, great numbers having escaped from England; many had likewise deserted from the French, or had been cashiered from the Dutch service. By these means those five ships which were given by the Duke of Holstein, and were sufficiently provided for service, were rendered useless, and lost by his neglect; and one limb of the design thereby broken. There happened about this time another incident, which much retarded the marquis's affairs: Sir John Cochran, who had been dispatched with a commission into Poland, to require the assistance of the Scots merchants there, having procured very considerable sums of money upon that score, and other necessaries for furthering that expedition, disposed of the money for his own use, and sold the corn and other provisions, together with the vessels which were provided for the transportation of it, and turned tail himself to the cause. General King, likewise, whom the marquis expected from Sweden with a considerable body of horse, either could not be so soon ready as was expected, or procrastinated purposely.

But, notwithstanding all these disappointments, the marquis, fearing, as is supposed, lest he should receive express orders to desist from his enterprise, the treaty betwixt the king and the Scots commis-

sioners seeming to be now in great forwardness, precipitated himself and those who were with him into the most inevitable ruin. Now, all these great levies and aids that were expected, these mighty preparations for the invasion of a kingdom already settled in a posture of war, and well forewarned of his intention, amounted not, in all, to above the number of six or seven hundred, foreigners included. Most of the common soldiers who adventured with him were from Holstein or Hamburgh. He received from the Queen of Sweden, for the arming of such gentlemen as should join his party upon his landing, fifteen hundred stand of arms, complete for horse, consisting of back, breast, head-piece, carabines, pistols, and swords; all which were taken untouched after his defeat in Caithness.

With so small an army, and so little preparation, to attempt a business of that weighty nature, was a desperate action. And, although his touching first upon the islands increased his numbers, and gave him almost the beginning of an army, yet were those barbarous people so raw, and unacquainted with discipline, that they proved in a manner useless and unserviceable. 'Tis true, that the inhabitants of these isles were in former times a very fierce and warlike people, and have often, under their own captains, made deep impressions into the very heart of the kingdom; but, whether it was the policy of the late kings to leave them untrain-

ed, on purpose to break and subdue their natural fierceness, or that, their own chieftains being quelled or cut off, they cared not much ever to engage under any other, certain it is, that the kings of Scotland, for these two hundred years last past, have not made less use of any part of their subjects, nor is there at this time a worse opinion entertained of any part of the Scots nation for valour and military courage. And this may be alleged as a great cause of their being so unserviceable and remiss in the marquis's service.

Of the whole strength that accompanied Montrose from Germany, which, as already noticed, was far from being considerable, he sent off about a third part before himself in two vessels, who, meeting with stormy weather, which is both frequent and dangerous among these northern islands, were lost, with all the men and arms. This was another check, and, as it were, a warning and forerunner of the sad event which followed; but, being led on by a fatality to his ruin, he behoved to contribute his own endeavours towards that destruction which his cruel fortune had provided for him; for, nothing dismayed with what had already happened, he dispatched a second party, who, making a more prosperous voyage, landed safe at Orkney, and entered the island without any resistance, there being at that time no garrison or defence placed by the estates in any of these islands. With these troops he had sent several commissions

for levying horse and foot, which were immediately dispatched to the continent of Scotland, and the islands adjacent, for that purpose. The people of the country being in no condition to resist these officers, endeavoured, in hopes of favour, as much as they could to promote the design; and such as were not so forward, were forced by their own neighbours who favoured the cause, and the violence of these recruiting officers, likewise to take up arms.

Not long after landed the marquis himself, with the rest of his company, together with those gentlemen who were resolved to partake of his fortune; amongst whom were several persons of note, as the Lord Frendraught, Colonel Urry, a man who had engaged in all quarrels, but never prospered in any; Colonel Johnson, a resolute and old officer; Colonel Gray, a German officer; Henry Graham, the marquis's own natural brother; Colonel James Hay of Naughton, Sir Francis Hay of Dalgety, and George Drummond of Balloch. His kinsman, the Lord Napier, was left in Holland, and Colonel Sibbald, his old companion, had been employed by him as his agent in Scotland, but was apprehended at Musselburgh, and accompanied his general in death upon the same scaffold.

The marquis continued a considerable time in Orkney, raising forces and strengthening himself with such recruits as the place could afford. Neither were there any preparations made at all in Scotland to dispossess him of these islands, either

because it was a difficult affair to assail him within those places, naturally guarded by a rough and dangerous sea, or because, as they knew his strength, they expected a better opportunity of destroying him, which, indeed, they soon after found, within the country.

At last he resolved to embark, and for that purpose, gathering all the boats he could find amongst the isles, he shipped his men, and soon landed them upon the utmost point of Caithness, which is the farthest land on the north-east part of Scotland. The people there, having had some experience of the carriage of his former soldiers, and now far more dreading the name of foreigners, and their panic being also increased by the dreadful reports which were industriously and constantly spread of him, fled away in great numbers, and many of them never stopped till they came to Edinburgh, where they gave a terrible alarm to the parliament, who were sitting there at the time. The commanders were immediately summoned, and charged with all possible haste to get the standing forces in readiness; and a rendezvous, in obedience to the command of the estates, was thereupon presently appointed at Brechin. Colonel Strachan, who was then in high esteem with the great ones for the late instances of his valour in the English service, and his zeal to the Presbyterian cause, which was much extolled at that time, had an ample and particular commission granted to him

by the parliament, to command a choice party of horse, without being subject to David Lesly's orders, and to engage and fight the enemy at the best advantage; and with these, which were not above three hundred, he advanced before the army. David Lesly, with the remainder of the horse, and General Holburn with the foot, marching after him.

In the mean time, the marquis advanced but slowly, and that his designs might not be mistaken by the world, who were all much astonished at this invasion, at a time when the king was upon a treaty with his subjects, he published a declaration, * wherein he laboured to clear himself from the aspersion of having any sinister ends; that his intention was only against some particular persons, who had, contrary to the laws of the kingdom, raised and maintained a war against the king's father, and were now, by their subtile practices, endeavouring to destroy the son also; but that he intended nothing against the generality of the kingdom, and exhorted all his fellow-subjects to free themselves from the tyranny of those who for the present ruled the state, and from the oppression of the ministry.

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* See this declaration, and answers to it by the commission of the General Assembly, and the Committee of Estates, in the Appendix.

The country for several reasons did not come to second him as he expected; for the Earl of Sutherland, a powerful man in these parts, and whose estate lay in the neighbourhood of the place where the marquis then was, raised a great number of his tenants and friends, and did what he could to hinder and terrify all that were willing to join him; and though he found himself unable to deal with the marquis's forces, yet he effectually stopped all intercourse betwixt him and his friends. On the other hand, those gentlemen who had hitherto followed the marquis, and were sufficiently inclined to assist him, knowing the danger of the enterprise, and considering the smallness of his army, and that his soldiers were entirely undisciplined, and very unlike to the former, with whom he had performed so many great actions, began to be averse, and entertain suspicions of the event, yet many who were intimately acquainted with the situation of the country were of opinion, that, had he not been overpowered in the nick of time, he might have gained such strength among the hills, as would have given him leisure enough to have increased his own party, and tired out the enemy. However, he was not altogether unmindful of retreat. There is in that country a castle called Dunbeath, the laird of which was the head of a very ancient family, but no friend to the marquis; and upon his approach, he had left his house in the keeping of his lady and servants, and fled to

Edinburgh. The lady, though the place was naturally well fortified, delivered it up on the first summons to Colonel Urry, who was sent thither by the marquis with a party of foot to reduce it, upon condition, that her goods and estate might be secure, and she with her servants allowed to march off. Urry, having placed such a garrison in it as he thought sufficient for its defence, returned to the marquis, who was now advanced to the place, or near it, where he was to lose at one throw his liberty, life, and fortune. Hearing of the enemy's approach, he made his whole forces march at a good rate to recover a pass which they were not far from, when he, himself in the vanguard, discovered the first party, which was Strachan's forlorn-hope, advancing very fast upon him, and when they came up, they found Montrose's men quite breathless and out of order. The second party of the enemy was commanded by Strachan himself, and the rear-guard by Colonel Ker; for he had divided them into three bodies. The first party being now very near, there was a forlorn-hope of a hundred foot drawn out to meet them, who firing upon them, put them to a disorderly retreat; but being immediately seconded by Strachan's party, they made good their charge, and so terrified the islanders that most of them threw down their arms, and called for quarter. The Dutch companies, after they had bestowed a volley or two among the horse, retreated into some

shrubs hard by, and there defended themselves very valiantly for some time, but were all taken at last. There were killed to the number of two hundred, and twelve hundred taken, very few having escaped; for the whole country being in arms, especially the Earl of Sutherland's people, who came not to the fight, but to the execution, they killed and took prisoners all that fled. The standard was also taken, which Montrose had caused be made of purpose to move the affections of the people, with the portrait of the late king beheaded, and this motto, *Judge and revenge my cause, O Lord!* the standard-bearer, who was a very gallant young gentleman, being killed, after he had several times refused quarter. Among the prisoners were Colonel Urry, the Lord Frendraught, Sir Francis Hay of Dalgety, Colonel Hay of Naughton, Colonel Gray, with most of the officers, and two ministers. *

The marquis, after he saw the day was absolutely lost, threw away his cloak with the star upon it, having received the order of the Garter sometime before: his sword was likewise found; and not very far off his horse, which he had forsaken; for how soon he had got clear off the ground where the skirmish was, he betook himself to foot, and lighting by chance upon one of the people of that coun-

* See a list of the prisoners in the Appendix.

try, he changed clothes with him, and so conveyed himself away in the fellow's Highland habit. There was a very narrow search made for him, so that he could not long escape; yet he continued in the open fields three or four days, without their getting any notice of him: at last, the Laird of Assint, being abroad in arms with some of his tenants in search of him, lighted on him in a place where he had continued three or four days without meat or drink, and only one man in his company. Assint had been formerly one of Montrose's own followers; who immediately knowing him, and believing to find friendship at his hands, willingly discovered himself: but Assint, not daring to conceal him, and being greedy of the reward which was promised to the person who should apprehend him by the council of the estates, immediately seized and disarmed him. 'Tis said he proffered great sums for his liberty; but finding that in vain, he desired to die by the hands of those who took him, rather than be made an object of shame and misery by his enraged enemies, which he well knew would be his fate: but neither of his desires were granted; and a strong guard was immediately set over him, who conveyed him to David Lesly. *

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* Macleod of Assint gave up Montrose to Lesly for four hundred bolls of meal; (see his Indictment, Criminal Records, 1674.) He was afterwards tried at Edinburgh for his treachery,—but the unpopularity of Montrose's son with the Cava-

Strachan having achieved his business with so great expedition, and relieved the state from this danger, of which they were so apprehensive, left the rest of the affair to Lesly and Holburn, and returned to Edinburgh ; where he received great thanks and rewards for his eminent service, not without the heart-burning of David Lesly, who fretted not a little at the success of one whom he considered as an upstart soldier, and who was become a rival to his honour. However, he moved forward, to accomplish the remainder of the work, which was now of no great consequence ; for there remained nothing within the country but the castle of Dunbeath, which, being past all hopes of relief after the defeat, how soon the garrison was perfectly assured of it by some prisoners whom they knew, they immediately surrendered. The governor was made a prisoner at discretion ; but the soldiers, being Dutch, were allowed to return home.

There was nothing else to be done, but to reduce the islands, and the town of Kirkwall in Orkney, where Colonel Johnson and Colonel Hary Graham were left, when the marquis passed over to Caithness : but either because he could not spare

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lier Party, whose favourite, Lord Middleton, he had given up to his enemies, and with Lord Lauderdale, for having ever been a friend of Middleton's, together with bribes bestowed by Assint, and Lauderdale's old grudge towards the memory of the marquis, saved this traitor from legal punishment.

any soldiers, or because he expected better success, he had left them almost defenceless, though there were several places in these isles which might have been made very tenable. Upon their hearing of the defeat, they immediately took shipping, with the rest who were left along with them, and returned from whence they came; otherwise both of them had undergone the same fate with their general. Thus Lesly's forces entered without any resistance, and seized upon the arms which Montrose had brought thither, together with two pieces of ordnance. The Queen of Sweden had given him a little frigate of sixteen guns, which lay in the harbour, and the master being gone ashore into one of the islands, the company, seeing the event, revolted, and brought in that likewise.

The victory being now complete, there was a solemn day of thanksgiving appointed throughout the whole kingdom, and observed with bonfires, shooting of guns, and other demonstrations of joy: but many of the gentry, who had been formerly under Montrose's command, and had now engaged to join him again, were no partakers of this joy: for his papers being taken, many of them were afterwards discovered, and suffered in their estates.

The marquis being now in the custody of his mortal enemies, from whom he could not expect the least favour or mercy, yet expressed a singular constancy, and in a manner an indifferency of his

condition: coming to the house of the Earl of Southesk, his father-in-law, where two of his children were kept, he procured liberty from his guard to see them; but neither at meeting nor parting could any change of his former countenance be discerned, or the least expression heard which was not suitable to the greatness of his spirit and the fame of his former actions. His behaviour was, during the whole journey, such as became a great man; his countenance was serene and cheerful, as one who was superior to all those reproaches which they had prepared the people to pour out upon him, in all the places through which he was to pass.* It is remarkable of the town of Dundee,

* The marquis had very nearly made his escape when at the house of the Laird of Grange, near Dundee. The author of the Memorie of the Somervilles, mentioning the old Lady Grange, thus details the circumstance: "It was at this ladye's house that that party of the covenanters their standing armie, that gairded in the Marques of Montrose, eftir his forces was beat, and himself betrayed in the north, lodged him, whom this excellent lady designed to sett at libertie, by procureing his escape from her house; in order to this, soe soon as ther quarters was settled, and that she had observed the way and manner of the placeing of the guairds, and what officers commanded them, she not only ordered her butlers to let the souldiers want for noe drink, but she herself, out of respect and kyndenesse, as she pretended, plyed hard the officers and souldiers of the main-guaird (which was keeped in her owne hall) with the strongest ale and aquavite, that before midnight, all of them (being for the most part Highlandmen of Lawer's

where he lodged one night, that though it had suffered more by his army than any other within

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regiment) became starke drunke. If her stewarts and other servants had obeyed her directions in giveing out what drinke the outgairds should have called for, undoubtedly the bussinesse had been effectuat; but unhappily, when the marques had passed the first and second centinells that was sleeping upon ther musquets, and likewayes through the main-gaird, that was lying in the hall lyke swyne on a midding, he was challenged a little without the outmost guaird by a wretched trouper of Strachan's troupe, that had been present at his takeing. This fellow was none of the guaird that night, but being quartered hard by, was come rammelling in for his bellieful of drinke, when he made this unluckie discovery, which being done, the marques was presently seized upon, and with much rudenesse (being in the ladye's cloaths, which he had putt on for a disguize) turned back to his prisone-chamber. The lady, her old husband, with the wholl servants of the house, were made prisoners for that night, and the morrow eftir, when they came to be challenged before these that had the command of this party, and some members of that wretched committie of estates that satt allways at Edenbrough, (for mischieff to the royall interest,) which they had sent for the more security, to be still with this party, fearing the great friends and weill-wishers this noble heroe had upon the way he was to come, should either by force or stratageme, be taken from them. The ladie, as she had been the only contryver of Montrose's escape, soe did she avow the same before them all; testifying she was heartily sorry it had not taken effect according to her wished desyre. This confidence of hers, as it bred some admiratione in her accusors, soe it freed her husband and the servants from being farder challenged; only they took security of the laird for his ladye's appearing before the committie

the kingdom, yet were they so far from insulting over him, that the whole town testified very great sorrow for his woeful condition; and here he was furnished with clothes suitable to his birth, in place of that ordinary dress in which he was taken; which Lesly would not for some time allow him to change.

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of estates when called, which she never was. Ther worships gott something else to thinke upon, then to conveen soe excellent a lady before them upon such ane account, as tended greatly to her honour and ther oune shame."

CHAP. VII.

The parliament condemns Montrose in his absence.—Their sentence against him.—Their treatment of him when he arrived at Edinburgh.—His speech before the parliament.—His speech and behaviour at his execution.

THE covenanting nobility, and the rest who assumed the name, and acted as the estates of Scotland, being informed that the Marquis of Montrose was betrayed, and now in their power, thought it proper and necessary to judge and condemn him before he was brought to Edinburgh. For they were afraid that the majesty of his appearance, and his becoming deportment, joined with the splendour of his birth, and the fame of his gallant actions, might beget compassion, and turn the minds of the people in his favours, who were then highly exasperated against him, and were already calling aloud to have him executed. They thought it necessary, therefore, to take the opportunity while they were in that humour; and upon the 17th of May, * they appointed a committee of their num-

* 1650.

ber, such as they knew to be Montrose's bitterest enemies, as judges, to consider his case, and without delay to give in their opinion in writing to the estates, what was most proper to be done with him, and what sentence should be pronounced against him. Accordingly, that same forenoon they gave in their report, declaring it as their opinion, That he should be met at the gate of the city by the magistrates, attended by the hangman; that he should be immediately put upon a cart, and fastened to it with cords, bareheaded; and so carried through the city, the hangman driving the cart with his bonnet on, and clad in his livery: that he should be hanged upon a gibbet erected at the cross of Edinburgh, with the book which contained the history of his wars, and his declaration, tied about his neck; and after remaining three hours upon the gallows in the public view of all the people, that he should be cut down, and his head severed from his body, and fixed upon the tolbooth of Edinburgh; and also his legs and arms cut off, and placed over the gates of the cities of Aberdeen, Perth, Glasgow, and Stirling: that if he repented, and was therefore absolved from the sentence of excommunication by the church before his death, his body might be buried in the common burial-place; but if not, that it ought to be buried at the public place of execution.

Upon the 18th day of May, about four o'clock in the afternoon, he was brought in at the Water-

gate, and, according to the sentence concerted against him the day before, he was met by the magistrates of the city, escorted by the town-guard, and the hangman along with them. How soon he entered within the gate, the magistrates shewed him the sentence, which having read, he answered with the greatest calmness and composure, That he was ready to submit to it; only he was sorry that through him the king's majesty, whose person he represented, should be so much dishonoured. And immediately mounting the cart with the greatest cheerfulness, he was carried at great leisure through the most conspicuous parts of the city to the prison; the other prisoners walking, tied two and two, before the cart.

Besides the guard which attended the cart in arms, the whole streets were crowded with people to see him; among whom were great numbers of women, and others of the lower sort, who were hounded out to abuse him with their scurrilities, and even to throw dirt and stones at him as he passed along; but there appeared such majesty in his countenance, and his carriage and behaviour was so magnanimous and undaunted, as confounded even his enemies, and amazed all the spectators; so that their intended insults and reproaches were converted into tears and prayers for his safety; whereby their ministers were so far exasperated, and transported with rage and fury at the disappointment, that, next day, which was Sunday, they

were not ashamed, openly in their sermons, to exclaim against the people for not embracing that opportunity of abusing him.

When he was taken from the cart, he gave the hangman some money, as a reward for driving so well, saying, " He reckoned it his triumphal chariot." It was almost seven o'clock in the evening before he reached the prison; and immediately some of the estates, and some of their ministers, were sent to examine him, or rather to teaze and vex him with their impertinent questions, and opprobrious invectives; but he refused to return them any answer, till they should inform him upon what terms they stood with the king his royal master, and whether they had come to any agreement. This being reported to the estates, they delayed any further proceedings against him till Monday; and, in the mean time, allowed their committee to inform him, that the peace and agreement was fully concluded betwixt the king and the present estates of the kingdom. By this time it was late, and being extremely fatigued with his long journey, and the hardships he had suffered on the road, he desired some repose; for he said, " That the ceremony and compliment they had paid him that day had been somewhat wearisome and tedious! "

The next day, which was Sunday, he was constantly attended by the ministers and members of the parliament, who gave him no rest nor quiet,

though he wanted to compose his mind to thoughts of a more exalted and interesting nature, but kept him up with their impertinent questions, insulting him with their reproaches, and denouncing their threatenings against him, all expressed with the utmost degree of ill-nature and malevolence. Yet all that ill treatment produced no change upon his steady behaviour, nor made him utter the least expression savouring of impatience and irresolution, or of which they could take the smallest advantage. He told them, "They were much mistaken if they imagined that they had affronted him by carrying him in a vile cart the day before; for he esteemed it the most honourable and cheerful journey he had ever performed in his life; his most merciful God and Redeemer having all the while manifested his presence to him in a most comfortable and inexpressible manner, and supplied him, by his divine grace, with resolution and constancy to overlook the reproaches of men, and to behold him alone for whose cause he suffered."

On Monday he was brought before the parliament, where the Earl of Loudon, the chancellor, made a long and virulent declamation against him: He told him, "That he had not only broken the first covenant, which was called the national, but also the second, or the solemn league and covenant, by which the whole nation stood bound; that he had rebelled against his native country, by invading it with hostile arms, and by calling in the Irish

rebels to his assistance; that he had committed many horrible murders, treasons, and impieties, for all which God had now brought him to suffer condign punishment." When the chancellor had done speaking, the marquis asked if he might be allowed to speak a few things in his own behalf, which being granted him with some difficulty, he said, "That since he understood that the king had owned them so far as to treat with them, and that they were now reconciled with him, he considered them as sitting by his authority, and as if his royal majesty were sitting along with them; and, therefore, he had appeared with reverence, and bare-headed, which otherwise he would not willingly have done. In all cases, he said, and particularly in public affairs, his principal concern had been to act as became a good Christian, and a faithful subject, and he had done nothing of which he was ashamed, or had cause to repent. He confessed frankly, that he had engaged in the first or national covenant, and had complied with it, and with those who took it, as long as the ends for which it was ordained were observed; but when he discovered, what was soon evident to all the world, that some private persons, under the pretence of reforming some errors in religion, and preserving public liberty, intended to abridge and take away the king's just power and lawful authority, and assume it themselves, he had then withdrawn himself from that engagement;

and when, in order to disappoint these men, and to clear themselves from being concerned in such base designs, the honest part of the nation thought it necessary to enter into an association for the security of religion, and the preservation of the royal authority, he likewise joined in it and subscribed it: that, as to the solemn league and covenant, he had never taken it, and never could approve or acknowledge it as a just and lawful confederacy; and therefore could not be accused of having broken it: and how far religion, which is now split into innumerable sects and parties, hath been advanced by it, and what horrible mischiefs and dreadful tragedies it hath occasioned, these three distressed kingdoms bear an abundant testimony: that when their late king, of ever blessed memory, had almost subdued his rebellious subjects in England, and a faction of this kingdom, under colour of their solemn league, had sent in very powerful succours to their assistance, it pleased his majesty to send him into this country, clothed with his commission and authority to raise an army and make a diversion, to prevent, if possible, these auxiliary forces from prosecuting their rebellious purpose: that he acknowledged the command as most just, and conceived himself bound in duty and conscience to obey it: how he had executed that commission, and what his carriage and behaviour was during it, many there present could witness: that it was not in the power of the great-

est generals to prevent disorders altogether in their army; but he had endeavoured what he could to suppress them, and to punish them how soon they were known: he had never spilt any blood, no not of his most inveterate enemies, but in the field of battle; and even in the greatest heat of action, he had preserved the lives of many thousands: and as he had first taken up arms at the command of the king, so he had laid them down upon his orders, and without any regard to his own interest, and retired beyond the seas.

"As to his late invasion, he said, he had undertaken it at the command, and by the express orders of his sacred majesty who now lives, to whom they all owed their duty and allegiance, and for whose long and happy reign he offered his sincere and earnest prayers, in order to accelerate the treaty which was begun betwixt him and them,* his majesty being assured, that whenever he should have agreed with them in a firm and lasting peace,

* See the king's letters to Montrose, in the Appendix; with the last of which he likewise sent him copies of the address from the Committee of Estates, and of his answer to it, and desired him to proceed vigorously in his undertaking, without being alarmed at any accounts he should receive of the treaty betwixt him and the estates, which he reckoned Montrose's enterprise the most effectual and certain method of accelerating, and bringing to a desirable conclusion. This was certainly a full vindication of Montrose's conduct to all the unbiassed world.

he would be ready to lay down his arms, and retire at his call; so that he might justly affirm, that no subject ever acted upon more honourable grounds, nor by a more lawful power and authority, than he had done in the several expeditions undertaken by him for the service, and at the command of the two best of kings.

"Wherefore he desired them to lay aside all prejudice, private animosity, and desire of revenge; and consider him, in relation to the justice of his cause, as a man and a Christian, as an obedient subject, in relation to the commands of his royal master, which he had faithfully executed, as their fellow-subject, and one to whom they lay under great obligations, for having preserved the lives and fortunes of many of themselves, at a time when he had the power and authority, and wanted only the cruel inclination to have destroyed both; he entreated them not to be too rash in their judgment against him, but to judge him according to the laws of God, the laws of nature and nations, and particularly by the laws of the land, which, if they refused, he appealed to the just judge of the world, who must at last judge them all, and always gives righteous judgment."

This he delivered with so much gravity and moderation, without the least trouble or disorder in his countenance, as amazed even his bitterest enemies. After which the chancellor ordered the sentence decreed against him to be read; he at-

tended to it with the greatest calmness and composure, and was beginning to speak a second time, when the chancellor stopped him in a threatening manner, and ordered him to be carried back to prison. Here a more sullen and importunate set of enemies presently assaulted him; the ministers endeavoured to shake his resolution and fortitude, by aggravating the weight and danger of their censures and excommunications, and denouncing against him eternal damnation and punishment, but to no purpose; for, conscious of his own innocence, he considered their impotent threats as the contrivances of priestcraft to keep the ignorant mob in awe, or the delirious ravings of fanatical enthusiasm, which could do him no harm, but might prove destructive and pernicious to themselves.

He told the magistrates, who waited constantly upon him, that "he was much beholden to the parliament for the great honour they had decreed him," saying, that "he was prouder to have his head fixed upon the top of the prison, in the view of the present and succeeding ages, than if they had decreed a golden statue to be erected to him in the market-place, or that his picture should be hung in the king's bed-chamber. He thanked them for taking so effectual a method to preserve the memory of his loyalty and regard for his beloved sovereigns, even to the latest posterity, by transmitting such lasting monuments of them to the four principal cities of the kingdom; wishing

heartily that he had flesh enough to have sent a piece to every city in Christendom, as a testimony of his unshaken love and fidelity to his king and country."

Very few of his friends were permitted to see him, and that only but for a very short time, and in presence of some of the magistrates, to prevent their having any private conversation with him. The guards attended him in the same chamber night and day, so that he had neither time nor place for his prayers and private devotions, free from their noisy and impertinent interruptions.

In the morning of that day on which he was to suffer, which was the twenty-first of May, hearing the whole town resounding with the noise of drums and trumpets, he asked the captain of the guard what it meant? who told him, that it was to call out the soldiers and citizens to arms; for that the parliament was afraid lest a mob or tumult might be excited at his execution by the malignants, (such was the odious name with which they stigmatized the friends and supporters of the royal cause,) of whom he confessed there were great numbers who favoured him, and might possibly make an attempt to rescue him. To which the marquis replied, " Do I, who was such a terror to these good men, when alive, continue still so formidable to them, now when I am to die? But let them look to themselves; for, even after I am dead, I will be continually present to their wicked

consciences, and become more formidable to them than while I was alive." Soon after, Sir Archibald Johnston, a member of their parliament, a sullen, melancholic man, intruding upon his privacy, and impertinently asking him what he was doing? and in the mean time he was combing his hair; he answered with a smile, "That while his head was his own, he would dress and adorn it; but to-morrow, when it becomes yours, you may treat it as you please."

About two o'clock in the afternoon, he was brought from the prison to the place of execution, dressed in a scarlet cloak trimmed with gold lace: he walked along the street with such a grand air, and so much beauty, majesty, and gravity appeared in his countenance, as shocked the whole city at the cruelty that was designed him; and extorted even from his enemies this unwilling confession, that he was a man of the most lofty and elevated soul, and of the most unshaken constancy and resolution that the age had produced. None of his friends and well-wishers were allowed to come near him; and, therefore, there was a boy privately appointed to take down his last words in short hand writing. In Scotland it had always been permitted to condemned persons to speak what they pleased to the audience, and to disburden their mind immediately before they die; but even this last privilege was not indulged him by the magistrates; so that what he said was not in

the form or method of a regular connected discourse, but in answer to such questions as were occasionally put to him by the bystanders; the substance of which, as it was faithfully taken down in writing, and delivered to us, was as follows:

He said, "That it would be extremely hard, if his suffering death in that manner should be esteemed any reflection upon him, or prove offensive to any good Christian. Doth it not often happen to the righteous according to the ways of the wicked; and to the wicked according to the ways of the righteous? Doth not sometimes a just man perish in his righteousness, and a wicked man prosper in his villany? Therefore, he expected that such as knew him perfectly, would not esteem him the less for his present sufferings; especially as many greater and more deserving men than he had undergone the like untimely and disgraceful fate. Yet he said he could not but acknowledge, that all the judgments of God were just, and these punishments very deservedly inflicted upon him, for the many and great private sins whereby he had transgressed against the divine majesty, and therefore willingly submitted to them; he freely pardoned and forgave his enemies, whom he reckoned but the instruments of the divine will; and prayed to God to forgive them: they had oppressed the poor, and perverted judgment and justice; but God, who is higher than they, would reward them.

" That what he had done in this kingdom was agreeable to the laws of the country, and undertaken in obedience to the most just commands of his sovereign, when reduced to the greatest difficulties by his rebellious subjects, who had risen up in arms against him ; that his principal study had always been to fear God and honour the king, in a manner agreeable to the law of God, the laws of nature, and the peculiar laws of this country ; and in neither of these respects had he transgressed against men, but against God alone, with whom he expected to find abundant mercy, and in the confidence of which he was ready to approach his eternal throne without terror. He would not pretend to foretell futurities, or to pry into the secrets of the divine Providence ; but he prayed to God that the indignities and cruelties which he was that day to suffer, might not be a prelude of still greater miseries to befall his afflicted native country, which was fast hastening to its own ruin and destruction.

" That he was sorry it should be objected to him by many, and those good people, as a crime, that he should die under the grievous censure of the church ; but that was none of his fault, seeing it was incurred only for performing his duty to his lawful prince, for the security of religion, and the preservation of his sacred person and royal authority ; that it gave him a good deal of concern to have been laid under the sentence of excommuni-

cation so rashly by the clergy, and he earnestly desired to be relaxed from it, so far as it could be done agreeable to the laws of God, and without hurting his conscience or allegiance, which, if they refused, he appealed to God, the righteous judge of the world, who ere long was to be his impartial judge, and gracious redeemer.

" Others, he said, had endeavoured to destroy his character and reputation, even now when he was about to die, by spreading a report, that he had laid the whole blame of what he had done upon the king and his royal father. But such an impious thought had never entered into his breast; the late king had lived a saint, and died a martyr; and he prayed to God, that as his own fate was not unlike, so his death might be attended with the same degree of piety and resignation; for, if he could wish his soul in another man's stead, or to be conjoined with it in the same condition after this life, it would be his alone. As to his present majesty, he reckoned that that people would be the happiest upon earth, who should have the good fortune to live under his just and merciful government; his commands to himself had been always just and equitable, and, though his disposition inclined rather to the side of mercy and clemency, that, notwithstanding, he was a great lover of justice, which he sacredly preserved with all men, and upon all occasions, and would stand religiously to his promises, and would never condescend to deceive; he

therefore prayed earnestly that he might find his subjects and servants equally just and faithful as himself, that he might not be betrayed in the end as his father had been, by those who should merit most at his hand, and in whom he should place the greatest confidence.

" He desired the people not to impute his present behaviour, and that he differed in opinion from them in some things, and did not agree with them in every thing, to insensibility, or a sullen pride and obstinacy, for in that he followed the light of his own conscience, as it was directed by the rules of true religion and right reason, pointed out to him by the unerring Spirit of God, who, out of his great goodness and mercy, had supplied him abundantly with the virtues of faith and patience, by the assistance of which he was enabled to meet death, even in its ugliest shape, with courage, and to sist himself before the throne of God, full of hope and confidence, that the Lord would be glorified even by his condemnation on earth. These, he said, were not the expressions of fear and distrust, but of gratitude towards God, and love and affection to his people, for, as oft as he looked upon them, or thought of them, he could not refrain from weeping over their calamities, which he had in due time attempted to remedy, but his efforts had proved ineffectual upon account of their sins.

" He had no more to add, only desired, that the people would judge charitably of him and his ac-

tions, without prejudice and without passion. He desired the prayers of all good men for his soul; for his part, he prayed earnestly for them all; and, with the greatest seriousness, submission, and humility, deprecated the vengeance of Almighty God, which had been so long awakened, and was still impending over this poor afflicted kingdom; that his enemies were at liberty to exult and triumph over the perishing remains of his body, but the utmost indignities they could inflict should never prevail on him, now at his death, to swerve from that duty and reverence to God, and obedience and respect to the king, which he had manifested all his life long. He concluded with recommending his soul to God, and his name and reputation to his countrymen, and to all posterity, wishing all happiness and prosperity to the king, and expressing his good-will and affection to all present. He said, that, had he been allowed, he would have spoken much more, but these things he had mentioned were sufficient to exoner his conscience."

Being then asked, if he inclined to pray apart? he answered, "That if they would not permit the people to join with him, his praying alone and separately, before so great an assembly, would perhaps be offensive both to them and himself. He told them, that he had already poured out his soul before God, who knew his heart, and had committed it into his hands, and he had been graciously

pleased to return him a full assurance of pardon, peace, and salvation, through the merits of Jesus Christ, his blessed Redeemer." This he spoke with the greatest energy and solemnity; then, closing his eyes, and lifting up his hands to heaven, he remained for some time wrapt up in his private devotions, during which he appeared to be inwardly moved with the influences of the Holy Spirit.

When he had done, he called for the executioner, and gave him some money; and the history of his wars, and his late declaration, being brought to him, tied in a cord, he received them with the greatest cheerfulness and alacrity, and hung them upon his neck, saying, "That, though it had pleased his majesty to create him a knight of the most noble order of the Garter, yet he did not reckon himself more honoured thereby than by the cord and the books which were now hung about his neck, and which he embraced with greater joy and pleasure than he did the golden chain and the garter itself when he first received them, and therefore desired them to tie them about him in what manner they pleased."

The magistrates and captains of the guard having ordered his arms to be bound, and his cloak taken off, he desired them "to inflict what further degree of ignominy and disgrace, as they reckoned it, they could possibly invent, for that he was ready to submit with the greatest cheerfulness to the highest indignities, for the sake of that cause

for which he suffered." His last words were,— "May God have mercy upon this afflicted kingdom." After which, with the most invincible constancy, and inimitable magnanimity, he submitted to that sentence which had been pronounced against him in his absence, and without being heard in his defence. He was a man, even in the confession of his enemies, in every respect without an equal, and now became a candidate for immortality, having exchanged this mortal and miserable life for eternal bliss and felicity. *

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* In the edition of these Memoirs printed 1652, some interesting details are given, which the later editors have thought fit to curtail. They are here subjoined entire. "Certain it was, that all these disgraces which were put upon him, were the only inventions of the Assemblie, then sitting, to whose wisdomes the devising of his punishment was referred by the Counsel of State. All this while the holy covenant was pressed upon him with much vehemencie, which, when he, with much reason and conviction, to them refused, they had recourse to their ordinary way of rayling and malediction, and one of them was so boid to tell him, he was a faggot of hell, and he saw him burning there already. They urged also upon him, as the price of his releasement from excommunication, an open confession of his faults, and an acknowledgement of the guilt of blood which had been shed the years past in which he had been in arms; but all to no purpose. But more particularly, (because the battel of Kilsyth had been lost upon so great odds,) he was much solicited to discover the conspirators in the overthrow of that army, but that took no effect; nor is that yet (since he left it undiscovered) known

to any Scottish man alive, whether there were any connivance in it or no. He was very frequent in his devotions whilst he was in prison, and exprest much more cheerfulnesse than he had done at any time before since his being taken prisoner. After he had endured these private batteries and assaults, with a great deal of constancie, he was at last brought before a publike auditorie to be sifted. The parliament had a little while before been called, for proclaiming the king, and ordering the affairs of the kingdome; whither he was brought, and did appear, with a very undismayed countenance, in a rich mantle layd over with massie lace. His chief adversaries were, the Marquesse of Argyle, his known and inveterate enemie; Earl of Lowdon, the chancellour of Scotland, of the same name and faction; Lothian Ker, a violent and a high-spirited man; Cassells, another of his adversaries, was gone in a commission to the king. These of the nobilitie were most against him. Of the gentrie, the Laird of Swinton, a potent man in that parliament; Sir James Stuart, provost of the citie of Edinburgh, a man likewise in great esteem; the Lord Hopton, a lord of the session, and president of the committee for examinations, and severall others. But the whole assembly was violent against him, neither could he be admitted to any place there, that was not publikely invective against him. But amongst them all the ministers of Edinburgh in this strife carried the honour, and of them, Mr Robert Trayle and Mr Mungo Law, two such venemous preachers, as no man that knows them can mention their names without detest. The first of the two had been chaplain before to the Marquesse of Argyle, and was his companion in his flight from the battle of Ennerlochie, and now prisoner to the states of England. Many and grievous were the accusations layd to his charge. First, That he had, by his pernicious insinuation, diverted the king from the counsells of his well-wishing subjects. The introducing the Irish into the bowells of the kingdome. The murther of some particular persons. The utter spoyl and devastation of

the Marquesse of Argyle's lands, and the killing and destroying of divers well-affected people there, and that in cold blood. The cruell usage of some ministers at his last landing. The complainers were there present, but could allege nothing, save only that he had restrayned them from rayling. His transacting with foreign states for the invasion of his native country, and bringing in of foreigners now the second time, and that without any known commission. His obstinate persecution of all covenanters, against his own oath and engagement, and his apostacie from his first principles. The marquesse, knowing how much his defences would avail him, did not much labour to clear himself, but answered all in generall. For his invasion they knew partly what authority he had; for the rest, he was sufficiently perswaded in his conscience, that he had done nothing which he might not be answerable to God for, as being in order to his master's commands, and to men too, so he might have but an even and unprejudiced judicatorie. Thus having been called once or twice before that high court of judgement, where he answered so vigorously as was admirable to all, he did at last receive his dolefull sentence, which was accordingly executed upon him two dayes after, with all the severitie and bitternesse that could be devised. There was erected, in the middle of the market-place, a large scaffold, breast-high, in the midst of which was planted a gibbet of extraordinary height. The marquesse having taken his rest very kindly that night, next morning, recommending himself to God once or twice, took his breakfast very chearfully. The bayliffs waited on him to the scaffold, where the whole people of the city attended his comming at least two houres before. He came uncovered all the way betwixt the scaffold and the toll-booth, and in the same rich mantle he had worn before. Being come thither, he was much detayned with a great many frivolous questions, of which partly the ministers, partly those whom the states suffered to be about him, desired to be satisfied. Hee made a short speech, in which he was often inter-

rupted, the tenour of which was, that he was satisfied in his conscience for ought he had done in relation to warre. That for his particular sins, (which were infinite,) he had begged pardon earnestly of God, and had an inward hope to obtain it. Hee freely forgave all those who had sought his overthrow, and intreated the charitie of all the people to pray both for him and them. The ministers, because he was under the sentence of excommunication, refused to pray for him, and, even on the very scaffold, were very bitter against him. After he had about a quarter of an hour prayed with his hat before his eyes, he was ready to go to his suffering, when his book and declaration, and all other papers which he had published in his life, being tyed in a string together, were hanged about his neck. He was very earnest that he might have the liberty to keep on his hat. It was denyed. He requested he might have the priviledge to keep his cloak about him; neither could that be granted. Then, with a most undaunted courage, he went up to the top of that prodigious gibbet, where, having freely pardoned the executioner, he gave him three or four pieces of gold, and enquired of him how long he should hang there, he told him three hours, then commanding him, at the uplifting of his hands, to tumble him over, he was accordingly thrust off by the weeping executioner. The whole people gave a generall groan, and it was very observable, that even those who, at his first appearance, had bitterly inveighed against him, could not now abstain from tears. 'Tis said, that Argyle's expressions had something of grief in them, and did likewise weep at the rehearsall of his death, (for he was not present at the execution.) Howsoever, they were by many called crocodiles tears, how worthily I leave to others judgement. But I am sure there did in his son, the Lord of Lorne, appear no such sign, who neither had so much tendernesse of heart as to be sorry, nor so much paternall wit as to dissemble; who, entertaining his new bride (the Earl of Murray's daughter) with this spectacle, mocked and laughed in the midst of that weep-

ing assemblie; and, staying afterwards to see him hewen in pieces, triumphed at every stroak which was bestowed upon his mangled body. Thus ended the life of the renowned marquesse, though not his punishment, (if that can properly be called a punishment which mens bodies suffer after death.) For being cut down, without so much as any to receive his falling corps, his head was smitten off, his arms by the shoulders, and his leggs by the knees, and so put into severall boxes, made for the purpose. The rest of his body was by three or four porters carried out to the publique place of execution, called the Borrow moore, answerable to that of Tyburn by London, but walled about, and there was it thrown into a hole, where afterwards it was digged up by night, and the linnen in which it was folded stoln away. His head was fixed upon the Toll-booth, over against the Earl of Gowrie's, with an iron cross over it, lest by any of his friends it should have been taken down. The rest of his parts were dispatched to the most eminent places of the kingdome, to Sterling, Dundee, Glasgow, Aberdene, which were all taken down afterwards by the English, or their permission."

CHAP. VIII.

Character of the Marquis of Montrose.—Colonel Urry, Spotiswood of Dairsie, Sir Francis Hay, and Colonel Sibbald, all executed.—Captain Charteris, notwithstanding his complying with the ministry to save his life, is also put to death.

The death of the noble marquis was not bewailed as a private loss, but rather as a public calamity; the greatest princes in Europe expressed no small sorrow for his unhappy end, and, indeed, we have not had in this latter age a man of more eminent parts either of body or mind. He was not very tall, nor much exceeding a middle stature, but of an exceeding strong composition of body, and an incredible force, joined with an excellent proportion and fine features. His hair was of a dark brown colour, his complexion sanguine, of a quick and piercing grey eye, with a high nose, somewhat like the ancient sign of the magnanimity of the Persian kings. He was a man of a very princely carriage and excellent address, which made him be used by all princes for the most part with the greatest familiarity; he was a complete horseman, and had a singular grace in

riding. He was of a most resolute and undaunted spirit, which began to appear in him, to the wonder and expectation of all men, even in his childhood. * Whom would it not have startled to attempt as he did, at his first entry into Scotland, a journey wherein he could hardly escape being discovered, all the passes being so laid for him? And even when he was known, and almost made public, yet proceeded in his intention. Nor is it less wonderful, how, in so great a scarcity of all things, when war in that country is but tedious, even with the greatest plenty it can afford, he could patiently endure so much distress. A surprising instance of his address and management, was his winning so much upon the affections of those Irish, who had no tie to him, either of country, language, or religion; more especially when they wanted not all manner of temptation that either their own miseries and intolerable duty could suggest, or the wit and sagacity of the enemy could invent, to make them leave him and abandon the service; besides the many examples of discipline shown upon them, and their continual want of pay, either of which accidents in an army is ground sufficient, and

* The house in which the marquis was born is still shown at Montrose; it is remembered that the old Chevalier slept in it the night before he escaped to France, 13th February 1716.

has been often the occasion of mutiny or desertion.

Nor had he only an excellent and mature judgement for providing and concerting of business, but a quick and ready apprehension in matters of present danger, and administering speedy assistance; for these things, which would have disconcerted another man's understanding, as sudden emergencies of that kind often do, were no more than a whet or spur to his wit and ingenuity. There are many stratagems recorded in history, which have been put in practice in the heat of action, for regaining the day when lost, or thought in danger of being so; as that of Jugurtha, a valiant and politic prince, who, in the heat of a battle betwixt him and Marius the Roman consul, rode up and down through his army, showing his bloody sword, and affirming he had slain Marius with his own hand; whereby the Numidians were so much encouraged, and the Romans amazed, that had not Marius quickly appeared, he had certainly lost the day. It is likewise reported of one of the Roman captains, that he threw his standard into the midst of the enemy, that his own soldiers, by pressing forward to rescue it, might break and disorder the enemy. Another is said to have taken the bridles from off the horses' heads, that every man might be alike valiant, and charge, as we say, without fear or wit. But that device practised by the marquis at the battle of Aulderne was not, in my opinion,

inferior to any of these; for, observing one wing of his army routed, and the other in a staggering condition, he so inflamed that wing which was yet whole with the feigned success of the other, that they valiantly charged the enemy, and recovered the inequality of the day; which was not unlike to that stratagem used by Tullus Hostilius, who, when he was deserted by Metius King of the Albans, told his soldiers, that he had done it on purpose to try them, and thereby turned their fear into indignation.

He was exceeding constant and loving to those who did adhere to him, and very affable to such as he knew; though his carriage, which indeed was not ordinary, made him seem proud: nor can his enemies lay any greater fault to his charge than his insatiable desire of honour, which he pursued with a train of the most splendid and heroic actions, and such as had no mixture either of avarice or self-interest, though he was branded for these vices very unworthily by his enemies. For these and the other eminent virtues whereof he was possessed, he was lamented over all Christendom, by all sorts of men; and since his death, even by those very men who had the greatest hand in it, though their success at that time animated their cruelty.

But the tragedy was not yet full; for Urry was the next in that bloody roll, who, pleading the benefit of quarter and compassion, for having a great

charge of children, thought thereby to have tasted of the parliament's mercy; but he was condemned to lose his head upon the same spot. They had been jealous of him formerly, when he was engaged in their service against Montrose; but could not then produce any sufficient evidence of his treachery to them. The chief accusation with which he was now charged was the last invasion with the marquis, and his formerly carrying arms against them under Prince Rupert at Marston-moor.* With him suffered young Spotiswood of Dairsie, a

* Lord Somerville, in the Memoirs of his Family, thus mentions the fate of Urry:—"In anno 1650, Major-generall Hurrie, (too faithfull to them whill he served ther interest,) being made prisoner upon Montrose's defeat in the north by Strauchan, was sentenanced to perpetuall banishment by the parliament, but the commissione of the kirk voted he should die, and therupon sent ther moderator, with other two of ther number, to the parliament house, who very saucilly, in face of that great and honourable court, (if it had not been then a body without a head,) told the president and chancellor, that the parliament had granted life to a man whom the Lord had appoynted for death, being a man of blood, (citeing these words of our blessed Saviour to Peter, "All they that take the sword shall perish by the sword;") whereas it was very weill knoune all the blood that that unfortunate gentleman had shed in Scotland was in ther quarreil and defence, being but then engadged in his master's service when he was taken prisoner, and executed at the kirk's instigatione.

"The parliament was soe farre from rebukeing ther bold intruders, or resenting those acts of the commissione of the kirk, (now quyte besyde ther master's commissione, as they

complete young gentleman, and worthy of mercy, had they been capable of showing any; being very young, but of an excellent disposition, and of great learning.

The next couple was Sir Francis Hay of Dalgety, and Colonel Sibbald, than whom the nation could not afford two persons more accomplished, both in body and mind. The first, being a Roman

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will have it understood, and ther oune solemne professione, not to meddle in secular affairs,) that they rescinded their former act, and passed a sentence of death upon him, hereby imitating ther dear brethren, the parliament of England, in the caice of the Hothams. These, as weill as this poor gentleman, had ther heads strucken off for the great services they had done unto ther ungrate masters. Severall instances of this nature I could give of the kirk's insulting over the state, as in the caice of the old Marquis of Huntlie, whom the parliament really intended noe farder to punish then by perpetuall imprisonement; but Argyle, the great patron of the Presbytereans, whill they wer in their infancie, (but now you must understand they stood upon their oune leggs,) designeing to have his estate, he causes the commissione of the kirk peremptorily demand his death of the parliament, which they granted, fearing to offend their holynesses, that, by the breath of ther mouth, could make them all malignants, and soe expose them to the envy of the people, and ther oune scorne; thairfore it was that the parliament gave up this noble persone, (now neer the eightieth year of his age,) as a sacrifice to ther bloody zeall, but he was a papist and a malignant too in ther account, that exonerated ther consciences, and pleased the people for the tyme, that held the predictiones of ther ministers as oracles."

Catholic in his religion, and therefore not coming within the compass of the ministers' prayers, without speaking a word to any body, but throwing some papers out of his pocket, took off his doublet, kissed the fatal instrument, kneeled down, and received the blow. The other, with a little more composure, smiled, and talked a while to the disorderly rabble about him; * then, with an undaunted behaviour, he marched up to the block, as if he had been to act the part of a gallant in a play.

The end of the last man was somewhat comical, though the poor gentleman lost his life. His name was Captain Charteris, descended of an honourable and ancient family in this kingdom. The ministers having dealt with him to acknowledge his fault publicly, in order to deter all others from it, which they could extort from none of his companions besides, though he was naturally resolute enough, and a man of good sense and learning; yet, partly by the persuasion of his friends, and partly by the weakness occasioned by his wounds, he agreed to their desire, and consented to make a public declaration, in hopes that thereby his life might be saved. With this conquest of conscience the ministers came vaunting to the scaffold, to produce their great work to the common people; and

* See the speech he intended to have spoken in the Appendix

he all the while suspecting nothing less than death, made a long and tedious harangue to the people, which the ministers had penned for him, in a very mournful energetic strain, wherein he acknowledged and bewailed his apostasy from the covenant, and other things which he had vented to them in auricular confession : after which, in place of granting him his life, as he expected, lest, like some of their former converts, he should fall off from the principles which he had thus openly professed, they fairly cut off his head, and sealed his confession with his blood, in the true tyrannical spirit of the bloody Roman inquisition. The rest of the prisoners being either strangers, or such as had spent most of their time in foreign services, were dismissed, after granting bond never to enter this kingdom again in a hostile manner.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

The Manifesto of the Scots Army when they entered England in 1640, *published under the Title of "Six Considerations of the Lawfulness of our Expedition into England manifested."*

As from the beginning till this time, we have attempted nothing presumptuously in this great work of reformation, but have proceeded upon good grounds, and have been led forward by the good hand of God; so now, from our own persuasion, are we ready to answer every one that asketh us a reason of this our present expedition, which is one of the greatest and most notable parts of this wonderful work of God; beseeching all to lift up their minds above their own particulars, and, without prejudice or partiality, to lay to heart the considerations following.

First, As all men know and confess what is the great force of necessity, and how it doth justify actions otherwise unwarrantable; so it cannot be denied but we must either seek our peace in England at this time, or lie under the heavy burdens which we are not able to bear.

1. We must maintain armies on the borders, and all places nearest to hazard, for the defence and preservation of our country, which, by laying down of arms, and

disbanding our forces, should be quickly overrun by hostile invasion, and the incursions of our enemies.

2. We shall want trade by sea, which would not only deprive the kingdom of many necessaries, but utterly undo our burghs, merchants, mariners, and many others who live by fishing, and by commodities exported and imported, and whose particular callings are utterly made void, by want of commerce with other nations and sea-trade.

3. The subjects through the kingdom shall want administration of justice; and although this time past, the marvellous power and providence of God hath kept the kingdom in order and quietness without any judicatories sitting, yet cannot this be expected for afterward, but shall turn to confusion. Any one of the three, much more all of them put together, threaten us with most certain ruin, unless we speedily use the remedy of this expedition. And this we say not from fear, but from feeling; for we have already felt, to our unspeakable prejudice, what it is to maintain armies, what to want traffic, what to want administration of justice. And if the beginning of these evils be so heavy, what shall the growth and long continuance of them prove unto us? So miserable a being all men would judge to be worse than no being.

Secondly, If we consider the nature and quality of this expedition, it is defensive, and so the more justifiable. For proof hereof, let it be remembered,

1. The king's majesty, misled by the crafty and cruel faction of our adversaries, began this year's war, not we. When articles of pacification had been the other year agreed upon, arms laid down, forts and castles rendered, an assembly kept, and concluded with the presence and consent of his majesty's high commissioner, the promised ratification thereof in parliament (contrary to the foresaid articles) was denied unto us; and when we would have informed his majesty by our commissioners, of the reasons and manner of our proceedings, they got not so much as presence or audience. Thereafter his majesty being content to hear them, before that they came to court, or were heard, war was

concluded against us at the council-table of England, and a commission given to the Earl of Northumberland for that effect.

2. The parliaments of Ireland and England were also convocate, for granting subsidies unto this war against us, as is nottour; plots have been hatched, and military preparations made against us; many invasions by sea, which have spoiled us of our ships and goods; men, women, and children, killed in Edinburgh by his majesty's forces in the castle: our enemies, therefore, are the authors and beginners of the war, and we defenders only.

3. We intend not the hurt of others, but our own peace and preservation; neither are we to offer any injury or violence: and, therefore, have furnished ourselves, according to our power, with all necessaries, not to fight at all, except we be forced to it in our own defence, as our declaration beareth.

4. We shall retire, and lay down arms, as soon as we shall get a sure peace, and shall be satisfied in our just demands; upon which ground even some of those who would seem the greatest royalists, hold the wars of the Protestants in France against the king, and the faction of the Guisans, to have been lawful defensive wars; because they were ever ready to disband and quiet themselves, when they got assurance of peace and liberty of religion. Now this present expedition being in the nature of it defensive, hence it appeareth, that it is not contrary, but consonant to our former protestations, informations, and remonstrances; in all which there is not one word against defensive war in this cause, but strong reasons for it; all which militate for this expedition.

Our first information sent to England this year, though it accuseth all offensive or invasive war, yet sheweth plainly, that, if we be invaded either by sea or land, we must do as a man that fighteth himself out of prison. If a private man, when his house is blocked up, so that he can have no liberty of commerce and traffic to supply himself and family, being also in continual hazard of his life, not knowing when he shall be as-

saulted by his enemies who lie in wait against him, may in this case most lawfully step forth with the forces which he can make, and fight himself free; of how much more worth is the whole nation? And how shall one and the same way of defence and liberation be allowed to a private man, and disallowed to a whole nation?

Thirdly, We are called to this expedition by that same divine providence and vocation which hath guided us hitherto in this great business. We see the expediency of it for the glory of God, for the good of the church, for advancing the gospel, for our own peace: after seeking of God, and begging light and direction from heaven, our hearts are inclined to it; God hath given us zeal and courage to prosecute it, ability and opportunity for undertaking it, unanimous resolution upon it, scruples removed out of minds where they were harboured, encouragements to achieve it from many passages of divine providence, and namely from the proceedings of the last parliament in England, their grievances and desires being so homogenial and akin to ours; we have laboured in great long suffering by supplications, informations, commissions, and all other means possible, to avoid this expedition. It was not premeditated nor affected by us, God knows! but our enemies have necessitated and redacted us unto it, and that of purpose to sow the seed of national quarrels; yet as God hitherto hath turned all their plots against themselves, and to effects quite contrary to those that they intended, so are we hopeful that our coming into England, so much wished and desired by our adversaries for producing a national quarrel, shall so far disappoint them of their aims, that it shall link the two nations together in straiter and stronger bonds, both of civil and Christian love, than ever before.

And that we may see yet further evidences of a calling from God to this voyage, we may observe the order of the Lord's steps and proceedings in this work of reformation. For, beginning at the gross popery of the service-book and book of canons, he hath followed the back-tread of our defection, till he hath reformed the

very first and smallest novations which entered in this church. But so it is, that this back-tread leadeth yet further, to the prelacy in England, the fountain whence all those Babylonish streams issue unto us; the Lord, therefore, is still on the back-tread, and we following him therein, cannot yet be at a stay. Yea, we trust that he shall so follow forth this tread, as to chase home the beast and the false prophet to Rome, and from Rome out of the world. Besides, this third consideration resulteth from the former two; for if this expedition be necessary, and if it be defensive, then it followeth inevitably, that we are called unto it; for our necessary defence is warranted, yea commanded, by the law of God and nature, and we are obliged to it in our covenant.

Fourthly, The lawfulness of this expedition appeareth, if we consider the party against whom, which is not the kingdom of England, but the Canterburian faction of Papists, Atheists, Arminians, Prelates, the misleaders of the king's majesty, and the common enemies of both kingdoms. We persuade ourselves, that our brethren and neighbours in England will never be so evil advised as to make themselves a party against us, by their defence and patrociny of our enemies among them; as sometimes the Benjaminites made themselves a party against the Israelites, by defending the Gibeathites in their wicked cause, Judg. xx. We pray God to give them the wisdom of the wise woman in Abel, who, when Joab came near to her city with an army, found out a way which both kept Joab from being an enemy to the city, and the city from being an enemy to him, 2 Sam. xx. As touching the provision and furniture of our army in England, it shall be such as is used among friends, not among enemies. The rule of humanity and gratitude will teach them to furnish us with necessaries, when as, beside the procuring of our own peace, we do good offices to them. They detest, we know, the churlishness of Nabal, who refused victuals to David and his men, who had done them good and no evil, 1 Sam. xx., and the inhumanity of the men of Succoth and Penuel, who denied bread to Gideon's army, when he was

pursuing the common enemies of all Israel, Judg. viii. But let the English do of their benevolence what humanity and discretion will teach them; for our own part, our declaration sheweth, that we seek not victuals for nought, but for money or security; and if this should be refused, which we shall never expect, it were as damnable as the barbarous cruelty of Edom and Moab, who refused to let Israel pass through their country, or to give them bread and water in any case, Numb. xx. Judg. xi.; and this offence the Lord accounted so inexpiable, that for it he accursed the Edomites and Moabites from entering into the congregation of the Lord unto the tenth generation, Deut. xxiii. 3, 4.

Fifthly, The fifth consideration concerneth the end for which this voyage is undertaken. We have attested the searcher of hearts, it is not to execute any disloyal act against his majesty; it is not to put forth a cruel or vindictive hand against our adversaries in England, whom we desire only to be judged and censured by their own honourable and high court of parliament; it is not to enrich ourselves with the wealth of England, nor to do any harm thereto. But, by the contrary, we shall gladly bestow our pains and our means to do them all the good we can, which they might justly look for at our hands, for the help which they made us at our reformation, in freeing us from the French, a bond of peace and love betwixt them and us to all generations. Our conscience, and God, who is greater than our conscience, beareth us record, that we aim altogether at the glory of God, peace of both nations, and honour of the king, in suppressing and punishing, in a legal way, of those who are the troublers of Israel, the fire-brands of hell, the Corahs, the Balaams, the Doegs, the Rabshakehs, the Hamans, the Tobiahs, and Sanballats of our time; which done, we are satisfied. Neither have we begun to use a military expedition to England, as a mean for compassing those our pious ends, till all other means which we could think upon have failed us; and this alone is left to us as *ultimum et unicum remedium*, the last and only remedy.

Sixthly, If the Lord shall bless us in this our expe-

dition, and our intentions shall not be crossed by our own sins and miscarriage, or by the opposition of the English, the fruits shall be sweet, and the effects comfortable, to both nations, to their posterity, and to the reformed kirks abroad: Scotland shall be reformed, as at the beginning; the reformation of England, long prayed and pleaded for by the godly, thereby shall be, according to their wishes and desires, perfected in doctrine, worship, and discipline. Papists, Prelates, and all the members of the antichristian hierarchy, with their idolatry, superstition, and human inventions, shall pack from hence; the names of Sects and Separatists shall no more be mentioned; and the Lord shall be one, and his name one, throughout the whole island; which shall be glory to God, honour to the king, joy to the kingdoms, comfort to the posterity, example to other Christian kirks, and confusion to the incorrigible enemies.

No. II.

Two Letters from the King to Montrose, anno 1642, thanking him for his good services, and desiring the continuance of them.

MONTROSE,

As I think it fit, in respect of your sufferings for me, by these lines to acknowledge it to you; so I think it unfit to mention by writ any particulars, but to refer you to the faithful relation of this honest bearer, Mungo Murray; being confident that the same generosity which has made you hazard so much as you have done for my service, will at this time induce you to testify your affection to me as there shall be occasion; assuring you that, for what you have already done, I shall ever remain your most assured friend,

CHARLES R.

Windsor, 27th January 1642.

Montrose,

I know I need no arguments to induce you to my service. Duty and loyalty are sufficient to a man of so much honour as I know you to be: Yet as I think this of you, so I will have you to believe of me, that I would not invite you to share of my hard fortune, if I intended you not to be a plentiful partaker of my good. The bearer will acquaint you of my designs, whom I have commanded to follow your directions in the pursuit of them. I will say no more, but that I am your assured friend,

Charles R.

York, 7th May 1642.

No. III.

A Letter from the Queen to Montrose, assuring him of her confidence and assistance.

Mon Cousin,

J'ai receu votre lettre, et par icelle vois que vous croiez que les affaires en Ecosse sont en fort mauvais etat pour le service du roy, et cela par ma negligence, pour n'avoir pas ecouté aux propositions qui m'ont ete fait a mon arrive ; en cela j'ai suivi les commandemens du roi ; mais je crois encore que si les bons serviteurs du roy veuille s'accorder ensemble, et ne perdre point de temps, qu'ils peuvent prevenir tout le malheur qui pourroit arriver de ce coté la : et pour moy, je contribuerai de mon coté tout ce que je puis ; et lors que les armes qui viennent de Danemark seront arriveés, que j'attens tous les jours, si vous en avez besoin, vous en aurez, comme aussi aucune autre assistance que je pourrai, aiant toujour eu une tres grande confiance en vous et en votre generosité, que je vous assure n'est point diminué, quoique comme vous miserable j'ai oui que vous aviez faites amitie avec quelque personnes qui me pourroit fait apprehender ; mais la confiance que j'ai en vous, et l'estime, ne pendra pas sur de si petites fondemens que le commun bruit, ni sur une chose que si vous

avez faite je suis assuré que ce n'est que pour le service du roy : Croiez aussi que de mon coté je ne manquerai pas a ce que je vous promis, et que je suis et serai toujours, votre bien bonne amie,

HENRIETTE MARIE R.

York, ce 31 *May.*

COUSIN,

I HAVE received your letter, and see by it that you are of opinion the king's affairs in Scotland are in a very bad condition, and that this is occasioned by my refusing to hearken to the advice you gave me at my arrival; in this I observed the king's orders, and am still persuaded that all the mischief that can happen from that quarter may be prevented by the king's good servants, if they will agree among themselves, and lose no time. For my own part, I shall contribute all I can; and when the arms from Denmark come to hand, which I am expecting every day, if you need any of them, you shall have them; as also any other assistance that is in my power, having always had a great confidence in you and in your generosity; which I assure you is not in the least lessened, though I am under the same misfortune with you, and have heard that you make up friendships with such as might make me apprehensive: But my confidence and esteem of you are not built on so slender foundations as common talk is, nor can it be shaken by such a step as this, which, if you have made, I am persuaded it was made with no other view but to serve the king. You may be assured, that, for my part, I will never fail of my promise to you; that I am, and always shall be, your very good friend,

HENRIETTA MARIA R.

York, 31*st May.* *

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* Though this letter has only the date of the month, and not of the year, it is certain that it was written in the 1643; for the queen landed at Burlington, in Yorkshire, in the end of February that year, and afterwards went to York, where Montrose advised her to crush the covenanters in the bud; but she was not so lucky as to follow his advice. *See the 33d, 34th, and 35th pages of the History.*

No. IV.

The King's Commission to the Marquis of Montrose to be Lieutenant-Governor, and General of all his Majesty's Forces in Scotland.

CHARLES R.

Charles, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. To our right trusty and right entirely beloved cousin, James Marquis of Montrose, greeting. Whereas divers traitors and seditious persons, of our kingdom of Scotland, have levied war against us, and, to the manifest forfaulture of their allegiance, and the breach of the act of pacification, lately made between the two kingdoms, have invaded our kingdom of England, and possessed themselves in divers places therein, to the great disturbance of our peace, and the destruction and spoil of our people; and yet further, if no course be taken by us to prevent that, intend to make a new invasion upon this our kingdom, and bring in forces for the assistance of the rebels here. Know ye therefore, that we, reposing especial trust and confidence in your approved wisdom, courage, fidelity, and great ability, whereof you have given hitherto most extraordinary and undeniable proof, do, by these presents, name, constitute, ordain, and authorise you, the said James Marquis of Montrose, to be our lieutenant-governor, and captain-general of all our forces, raised, or to be raised in our kingdom of Scotland, and of, and over all others brought, or to be brought thither out of our kingdoms of England and Ireland, or from any part whatsoever. And we hereby give you power and authority to raise and levy forces, meet and apt for the wars, within all the parts of our said kingdom of Scotland, and to command and enjoin the sheriff-lieutenants, magistrates of cities and towns, and all others having power and authority under us, within every several county of our said kingdom, to send, or cause to be sent unto you, such number of our said subjects apt and meet for the war, to such place or places, and at such time as you shall think expedient. And

we do further, by these presents, give you full power and authority to put in readiness the persons so by you raised, or to be raised, levied, or assembled, sent, conducted, or brought unto you and them, from time to time, to arm, lead, and conduct against all and singular enemies, rebels, and traitors, and every of their adherents, attempting any thing against us, our crown and dignity, within any part of the said kingdom; and the saids enemies, rebels, and traitors, to invade, pursue, repress, and, in case of opposition or resistance, to slay, kill, and put to execution of death, by all ways and means, according to your good discretion; and to do, fulfil, and execute all and singular other things, which shall be requisite for the levying, conducting, and government of our said forces; particularly to make, constitute, and ordain laws, ordinances, and proclamations from time to time, as the case shall require, for the good government and order of all the forces that are, or shall be under your command; and the same also, and every one of them to cause to be duly proclaimed, performed, and executed. And likewise to punish all mutinies, tumults, rapines, murders, and all other crimes and misdemeanours of any person under your command in your army, according to the course and custom of the wars and laws of the land As also for us, and in our name, as you in your discretion shall think fit, to save such as you please of these traitors, rebels, and offenders, as shall be apprehended or brought into prison, and make tender of our royal grace and pardon to such of them as shall submit to us, and desire to receive our mercy. And further, we do give unto you full power and authority, for the better execution of this our commission, to appoint and assign all commanders and officers necessary and requisite for the government and command of our said forces, and to command all cities, towns, castles, and forts within our said kingdom of Scotland, to place governors and commanders within the same, and to remove, displace, or continue such as are in any of them already, according as you shall think meet for the good of our service, and safety of that our kingdom. And our further will and pleasure is, and

we do by these presents give unto you full power and authority, not only to repress and subdue such as are in arms against us within our said kingdom of Scotland, but also to advance your forces into such parts of our kingdom of England, or any other of our dominions as are infested and oppressed by any of our Scottish subjects, already brought, or hereafter to be brought in for assisting the rebels of this kingdom; and there to pursue and beat out of such towns, castles, and forts, as they have got possession of, without any part of our said kingdom of England, or other our dominions; to recover the same for our use, and to relieve and free our English subjects, and others, from the heavy yoke that by that means lieth upon them. And because of the ample testimony you have given us of your singular wisdom and fidelity, in the ordering and disposing of our great and weighty affairs hitherto, to the end you may reward and encourage such as have given, or shall give assistance unto you towards the advancement of our service; we do hereby give unto you full power and authority, from time to time, to confer the title, degree, and honour of knighthood upon such person, either natives or others, employed under your charge and command, whom you in your discretion shall conceive fit to receive the same; and whatsoever you shall do herein, according to the true intent and meaning of these presents, we do for us, our heirs and successors, ratify and confirm upon the great trust and confidence which we repose in you, that ye will make such use of this power given to you as may best conduce to the advancement of our service and honour. Wherefore, we will and command you, our said lieutenant-governor, with all diligence duly to execute the premises with effect. And whatsoever you shall do by virtue of this our commission, and according to the tenor and effect of the same, touching the execution of the premises, or any part thereof, you shall be for the same discharged by these presents in that behalf against us, our heirs and successors. And, therefore, we will and command all and singular our subjects within our said kingdom of Scotland, of whatsomever degree and quality, whether noblemen, gentle-

men, burgesses, magistrates in the country or towns, privy counsellors, officers of state militant, commanders and soldiers, to whom it shall appertain, that they, and every one of them, shall be, from time to time, attendant, aiding, assisting, and helping to you, and at the commandment of you, as aforesaid, in the due execution hereof; and that they diligently and faithfully perform and execute such commands as you shall, from time to time, give them for our service, as they and every of them tender our displeasure, and will answer the contrary at their utmost perils. And these presents shall have continuance during our pleasure, and ever while they be expressly revoked by us. Given under our sign manual and privy signet, at our court at Hereford, the twenty-fifth of June 1645, and of our reign the one and twentieth.

No. V.

A Letter from the Marquis of Montrose to President Spotiswood. *

Goode President,

At our arryval heir, being incertane of all busynes, I directed alongs Cornell Cochran to my Lord Neucastell, to learne the conditione of affaires, and informe him particularly of what he had to expect; which necessarly occasions our stay heir for some days. His returne to us was, that for supplyes he could dispence non for the present; for monyes he had non, neither wes he oueing my Lord Germine any; for armes and amunition he hade not to the two parts of his armie; bot had been so long expecting from beyonde sea, as he wes now out of hopes; so this is the termes we stand on. However since it is so, *et non putarem;* for we resolved with it, although we expected better; it shall be no matter of

* From the original in the custody of John Spotiswood of That Ilk, Esq. relating to Chap. III. p. 52, 53, &c.

discouragement to withhould us from doeing our best. To-morrow we are to goe to the army, which is lookt dayly to fight; bot I hope we shall come in tyme to beare them witness. Argyle, upon the rumor of our coming, is returned to Scotland in heast, to prepaire against us there; bot we intend to make all possible dispatch to follow him att the heels in whatsoever posture we can. So this is all I can shou you for the present; bot as farther occurs, you shall from time to time know it by your most affectionatt and faithfull servant to serve you,

MONTROSE.

York, March 13, 1644.

P. S. I much admyre my cossing Sir Williame Flemyng's stay, and am heartely sorry both for the busines and himself; bot I know its non of his fault. Let this, I pray, remember me to all friends, and entreat you would keep particular goode intelligence with them all, and chiefly Mr Porter. For the generall, be pleased to lett him know still all generals, and make your fitting use.

No. VI.

Sir Robert Spotiswood's Letter to Lord Digby, wrote by him before the Battle of Philiphaugh, and found in his pocket when he was made prisoner.

MY LORD,

We are now arrived *ad columnas Herculis*, to Tweedside, dispersed all the king's enemies within this kingdom to several places, some to Ireland, most of them to Berwick; and had no open enemy more to deal with, if you had kept David Lesly there, and not suffered him to come in here, to make head against us of new. It is thought strange here, that at least you have sent no party after him, which we expected; although he should not come at all. You little imagine the difficul-

ties my Lord Marquis hath here to wrestle with; the overcoming of the enemy is the least of them; he hath more to do with his own seeming friends; since I came to him, (which was but within these ten days, after much toil and hazard,) I have seen much of it. He was forced to dismiss his Highlanders for a season, who would needs return home to look to their own affairs. When they were gone, Aboyn took a caprice, and had away with him the greatest strength he had of horse; notwithstanding whereof he resolved to follow his work and clear this part of the kingdom (that was only resting) of the rebels that had fled to Berwick, and kept a bustling here. Besides, he was invited hereunto by the Earls of Roxburgh and Home, who, when he was within a dozen of miles of them, have rendered their houses and themselves to David Lesly, and are carried in as prisoners to Berwick. Traquair hath been with him, and promised more nor he hath yet performed. All these were great disheartenings to any other but to him, whom nothing of this kind can amaze. With the small forces he has presently with him, he is resolved to pursue David Lesly, and not suffer him to grow stronger. If you would perform that which you lately promised, both this kingdom and the north of England might be soon reduced, and considerable assistance sent from hence to his majesty; however, nothing will be wanting on our parts here; these that are together are both loyal and resolute; only a little encouragement from you (as much to let it be seen that they are not neglected, as for any thing else) would crown the work speedily. This is all I have for the present, but that I am your Lordship's most faithful friend,

Ro. Spotiswood.

Dated near to Kelso, Sept. 10, 1645.

No. VII.

The Last Speech of Sir Robert Spotiswood, intended to have been spoken by him at his Execution.

You will expect to hear from me, somewhat of the cause for which I am brought hither at this time to suffer in this kind; which I am bound to do, for clearing the integrity of mine own proceedings, vindicating his majesty's just and pious intentions, and withal to undeceive you that are muzzled in ignorance, and made to believe, that you are tied in conscience, to set forward this unnatural rebellion, masked under the cover and pretext of propagating religion, and maintaining of public liberty.

You have perceived by the fact which hath gone before, viz. tearing of my arms, &c. that I stand here adjudged to die by this pretended parliament, as a traitor to the states, and enemy to my native country. This is a treason unheard of before in this kingdom; against the states, a thing of a new creation, which, I believe, there be some would have erected in opposition to the just and lawful authority of the king, under which we and our predecessors have been so many hundreds of years governed.

To come to the particulars of my treasonable demeanour, as they esteem it, the main one is, that I did bring down a commission of lieutenancy from his majesty to the Lord Marquis of Montrose, with a proclamation for indicting a parliament by the king's authority, wherein the Lord Marquis was the commissioner. Not to excuse myself upon the necessity laid upon me to obey his majesty's command in a business of that nature, in regard of the charge I had about him; I cannot so far betray mine own conscience, as to keep up from you my judgment of the thing itself; seeing it may both tend to the justifying of the king's part, and your better information, for lack whereof, I know many are entangled in

this rebellion unwittingly; and who knoweth but God, in his merciful providence, hath brought us hither, to be the instruments of freeing you from the manifold delusions that are made use of to ensnare you.

I say, then, it was just and necessary to his majesty to grant such commissions, and, by consequence, an act of duty in me to perform what he was pleased to command me.

It is known well enough what contentment his majesty gave to the kingdom at his last being here, both in the affairs of church and policy; notwithstanding whereof, the world seeth what meeting he hath got from us. When this rebellion first burst out in England, all that he desired of us was only to stand neutral, and not to meddle between him and his subjects there. Of which moderate desire of his little reckoning was made. But, on the contrary, at the request of these rebels, by the power of their faction amongst us, an army was raised and sent into England, to assist them against their own native king.

His majesty being reduced to this extremity, what expedient could he find so fair and easy, as to make use of the help of such of his loyal subjects as he knew had such unparalleled disloyalty in horror and detestation? Amongst whom, that matchless mirror of all true worth and nobility, the Lord Marquis of Montrose, having offered himself, it pleased his majesty to give him a subaltern commission first; which he having executed with such unheard of success, that his memory shall be had in honour for it, in all ages, his majesty, for the better furthering of his own service, and to countenance and encourage him the more in it, gave an absolute one, and independent, thereafter; which is that I delivered into his hands, by his majesty's command. Here withal, his majesty, pitying the miseries of this poor kingdom, occasioned by the rebellious stubbornness of a few factious spirits, thought fit to give a power to the said Lord Marquis to call a parliament in his own name, to try if by that means a remedy might be found against the present evils.

And in all this, I see not what can be justly charged

upon his majesty, or upon me his servant, who have done nothing against any authorized law of the kingdom, but have served him faithfully, unto whom by trust and natural allegiance I owe so much.

Whereas I am declared an enemy to my native country, God be so propitious to me, as my thoughts towards it have been always public, and tending to the good and honour thereof. I profess, since I had the honour of that noble marquis's acquaintance, I have been a favourer of his designs, knowing them to be both loyal and honourable. Besides, that I know his affection to his country to be eminent, in this especially, that he did ever shew himself passionate to vindicate the honour of this kingdom, which suffered every where, by the strange combination of this with the rebels of another country and kingdom against their own prince; wherein I concurred in judgment with him, and thought there was no other way to do it, but by setting up a party of true and loyal hearted Scotsmen for his majesty; whereby it might be seen, that it is not a national defection, but only stirred up by a faction there, which, for their own ends, have dishonoured their native kingdom, and disturbed the peace thereof; in enterprising and pursuing of which heroical design, God hath so favoured that noble lord, that he hath righted our country in the opinion of all the world, and discovered where the rottenness lieth.

Thus far I am contented to be counted a traitor in their opinion that have condemned me, being fully assured, that God, the righteous judge of all, who knoweth the uprightness and integrity of my intentions, will impute no fault to me on this kind; since, to my knowledge, I have carried myself according to the direction of his word, and the practice of all good Christians, before these miserable times we are fallen into. My exhortation, therefore, (which, coming from me at the point I am at, will, I hope, have some weight,) shall be this unto you, that you will break off your sins by repentance; and, above all, free yourselves of that master sin of rebellion that reigneth in this land, whereunto most part are either forced or drawn unawares; espe-

cially at the instigation of those who should have directed them in the way of truth.

It cannot be but a great judgment upon a land, when God's singular mercies towards it are so little valued. He hath not given us a king in his wrath; but one who, for piety, bounty, and all virtues both Christian and moral, may be a patron to all princes. But how little thankful we are to God for so great a blessing, our respect towards him doth manifest. Yet, I fear, there is a greater judgment than this upon it, which occasions all the mischiefs that afflict this poor land, such as was sent upon Achab. God hath put a lying spirit in the mouths of the most part of your prophets, who, instead of the doctrine of salvation, labour to draw their hearts into the condemnation of Corah.

God Almighty look upon this miserable church and kingdom, and relieve you of that intolerable servitude you lie under; which, as I do heartily wish for on your behalf, so let me have the assistance of your prayers, that God would be pleased to pardon all my sins in Jesus Christ, and gather my soul with saints and martyrs that are gone to their rest before. So I bid the world and you farewel.

No. VIII.

Sir Robert Spotiswood's Letter to the Marquis of Montrose, wrote by him the day before his Execution.

My Noble Lord,

You will be pleased to accept this last tribute of my service, this people having condemned me to die for my loyalty to his majesty, and the respect I am known to carry towards your excellence, which, I believe, hath been the greater cause of the two of my undoing. Always, I hope, by the assistance of God's grace, to do more good to the king's cause, and to the advancement of the service your excellence hath in hand, by my death, than perhaps otherwise I could have done, being living:

for all the rubs and discouragements I perceive your excellence hath had of late, I trust you will not be disheartened to go on, and crown that work you did so gloriously begin, and had achieved so happily, if you had not been deserted in the nick. In the end God will surely set up again his own anointed, and, as I have been confident from the beginning, make your excellence a prime instrument of it. One thing I must humbly recommend to your excellence, that, as you have done always hithertill, so you will continue, by fair and gentle carriage, to gain the people's affection to their prince, rather than to imitate the barbarous inhumanity of your adversaries, although they give your excellence too great provocations to follow their example.

Now, for my last request, in hope that the poor service I could do hath been acceptable to your excellence, let me be bold to recommend the care of my orphans to you, that when God shall be pleased to settle his majesty in peace, your excellence will be a remembrancer to him in their behalf; as also in behalf of my brother's house, that hath been, and is mightily oppressed for the same respect. Thus being forced to part with your excellence, as I lived, so I die, your Excellency's most humble and faithful servant,

Ro. Spotiswood.

St Andrew's Castle,
Jan. 19, 1646.

For the Lord Marquis of Montrose his Excellence.

No. IX.

Three Letters from the King, when he was with the Scots Army at Newcastle, to the Marquis of Montrose, containing his Orders to the Marquis for disbanding his Forces, and going to France.

Montrose,

I am in such a condition as is much fitter for relation than writing, wherefore I refer you to this trusty bearer

Robin Ker, for the reasons and manner of my coming to this army; as also what my treatment hath been since I came, and my resolutions upon my whole business: This shall, therefore, only give you positive commands, and tell you real truths, leaving the *why* of all to this bearer. You must disband your forces, and go into France, where you shall receive my further directions. This at first may justly startle you, but I assure you, that if, for the present, I should offer to do more for you, I could not do so much, and that you shall always find me your most assured, constant, real, and faithful friend,

CHARLES R.

Newcastle, May 19, 1646.

MONTROSE,

I ASSURE you, that I no less esteem your willingness to lay down arms at my command, for a gallant and real expression of your zeal and affection to my service, than any of your former actions; but I hope that you cannot have so mean an opinion of me, that, for any particular or worldly respects, I could suffer you to be ruined. No, I avow that it is one of the greatest and truest marks of my present miseries, that I cannot recompense you according to your deserts; but, on the contrary, must yet suffer a cloud of the misfortune of the times to hang over you; wherefore I must interpret those expressions in your letter concerning yourself, to have only relation to your own generosity; for you cannot but know that they are contrary to my unalterable resolutions, which, I assure you, I neither conceal nor mince, for there is no man who ever heard me speak of you that is ignorant that the reason which makes me at this time send you out of the country, is, that you may return home with the greater glory, and, in the mean time, to have as honourable an employment as I can put upon you. This trusty bearer, Robin Ker, will tell you the care I have had of all your friends and mine, to whom albeit I cannot promise such conditions as I would, yet they will be such as, all things considered, are most fit for them to accept; wherefore, I renew my former directions of laying down arms unto you, desir-

ing you to let Huntly, Crawfurd, Airly, Seaforth, and Ogilvy know, that want of time hath made me now omit to reiterate my former commands unto them, intending that this shall serve for all; assuring them, and all the rest of my friends, that, whensoever God shall enable me, they shall reap the fruits of their loyalty and affection to my service. So I rest your most assured, constant, real, faithful friend,

CHARLES R.

Newcastle, June 15, 1646.

MONTROSE,

THE most sensible part of my many misfortunes is, to see my friends in distress, and not to be able to help them; and, of this kind, you are the chief; wherefore, according to that real freedom and friendship which is between us, as I cannot absolutely command you to accept of unhandsome conditions, so I must tell you, that I believe your refusal will put you in a far worse estate than your compliance will. This is the reason that I have told this bearer, Robin Ker, and the commissioners here, that I have commanded you to accept of Middleton's conditions, which really I judge to be your best course, according to this present time, for, if this opportunity be let slip, you must not expect any more treaties; in which case, you must either conquer all Scotland, or be inevitably ruined. That you may make the clearer judgment what to do, I have sent you here inclosed the chancellor's answers to your demands; whereupon, if you find it fit to accept, you may justly say I have commanded you; and, if you take another course, you cannot expect that I can publicly avow you in it, until I shall be able, which God knows how soon that will be, to stand upon my own feet; but, on the contrary, seem to be not well satisfied with your refusal, which I find clearly will bring all this army upon you, and then I shall be in a very sad condition, such as I shall rather leave to your judgment, than seek to express; however, you shall always find me to be your most assured, real, constant, faithful friend,

CHARLES R.

Newcastle, July 16, 1646.

P. S. Whatsoever you may otherwise hear, this is truly my sense, which I have ventured freely unto you without a cypher, because I perceive this to be *coup de partie.*

No. X.

A Letter from the King to the Marquis of Montrose, congratulating him on his safe Arrival in the Low Countries, after disbanding his Army, and recommending him to the Queen.

Montrose,

Having no cypher with you, I think not fit to write but what I care not though all the world read it. First, then, I congratulate your coming to the Low Countries, hoping, before this, that ye are safely arrived at Paris; next, I refer you to this trusty bearer for the knowledge of my present condition, which is such, as all the directions I am able to give you is, to desire you to dispose of yourself as my wife shall advise you, knowing that she truly esteems your worth, for she is mine, and I am your most assured, real, faithful, constant friend,

Charles R.

Newcastle, Jan. 21, 1646-7.

A Letter from the Queen to the Marquis, thanking him for his past services.

Mon Cousin,

Aussi-tot que j'ai appris votre arrivée en Hollande, je vous ai voulu faire cette lettre, pour vous donner toujours des assurances de la continuation de l'estime que j'ai des services que vous avez rendu au roy mon seigneur. Je ne fais point de doute de la continuation, lorsque vous le pourrez; vos actions m'en ont donné trop evidentes preuves pour en douter; comme aussi j'espere que vous croyez, qu'il n'y a rien qui puisse être en mon pouvoir pour vous en faire paroitre mes resenti-

mens que je ne fasse. J'ai chargè Ashburnham de vous parler plus particulierment de quelque chose pour le service du roy; me remittans a lui, a qui vous pouvez prendre entiere confiance; je finirai avec cette assurance encore, que je suis tres entierement, Mon Cousin, votre affectioneé cousine, et constante amie,

HENRIETA MARIA R.

Paris, ce 15 *Mars* 1647.

COUSIN,

So soon as I heard of your arrival in Holland, I resolved to write this letter, assuring you, that I still very much value the service you have done the king my husband. I am persuaded you will continue your faithful service to the utmost of your power. Your actions have afforded such plain proofs of your fidelity and zeal, that I cannot doubt of them; and I hope you will believe that I will do all that is in my power to shew you my grateful sense of your good services. I have ordered Ashburnham to speak more particularly with you, of something that concerns the king's service. Referring you to him, in whom you may entirely confide, I conclude with this further assurance, that I am entirely,* Cousin, your affectionate cousin, and constant friend,

HENRIETA MARIA R.

Paris, March 15, 1647.

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* This letter plainly refers to what is related in p. 277, and following pages of this history, when Ashburnham was sent to Montrose on his way to Paris, to dissuade him from going forward; for the Lord Jermyn and the Presbyterians were afraid that the queen, by embracing Montrose's advice, would break their measures.

No. XI.

A Letter from the Queen to the Marquis, encouraging him in the resolution of avenging the King's Murder.

Mon Cousin,

Aiant receu votre lettre par Pooley, et par icelle veu les assurances de la continuation de votre affection pour le service du roy, monsieur mon fils, comme vous avez toujours eu pour celuy du feu roy, mon seigneur, dont le meurtre commis en sa personne doit augmenter a tous ses serviteurs la passion de chercher tous les moyens de se revancher d'une mort si abominable; et comme je ne doute point que vous ne soyes bien aise d'en avoir les occasions, et que pour cet effet vous ne fassies toutce qui dependra de vous; je vous conjure donc de vouloir vous joindre avec tous ceux de votre nation qui voudroient resentir comme ils doivent cette mort, et oublier tout ce qui s'est passé entre vous; c'est tout ce que j'ai a vous recommander, et de me croire avec autant d'assurance comme je suis en effect, et serai toujours, Mon Cousin, votre bien bonne et affectioncè cousine et amie,

Henrieta Maria R.

Paris, ce 10 *Mars* 1649.

Cousin,

I have received your letter by Pooley, and in it assurance, that you continue the same good affection to serve the king my son, which you have always had for the late king my husband. The murder committed in his person must necessarily increase the passion of all his servants to be avenged on his enemies, who were guilty of the abominable crime of his death. And as I doubt not but you will be well pleased that an opportunity offer for this, and that you will do all in your power for effectuating it; I conjure you to join with all your countrymen, that would shew a just resentment of this murder, and forget all the differences that have been formerly among you. This is all I have to recom-

mend to you at present, and to believe me to be, as much as I really am, and always shall be, * Cousin, your very good and affectionate cousin and friend,

HENRIETA MARIA R.

Paris, March 10, 1649.

No. XII.

This and the six following Letters are now for the first time printed, from the Archives of the noble Family of Seaforth.

CHARLES R.

TRUSTY and wel-beloved, we greate you well. We are so fully informed of the loyalty and good affection which you have constantly expressed to the king, our late father, of blessed memory, and to us, that we are willing, upon this occasion, to returne you our thankfull acknowledgement thereof; and we assure you that we shall alwayes remember it, to the advantage of yourself and your friends, who have concurred with you therein; and we intreate both you and them to continue the same good affection to us and our service, until we shall have meanes and opportunity to give you and your friends such further incouragement as shall be necessary; which we expect and intend to doe with all convenient speede; and, in the meane time, we referre you and your friends to such further information of our particular desires, to you and them, as you shall receive from our right trusty and right intirely beloved cousin, James Marquis of Montrose, with whom we entreate you to hold correspondence hereafter for our service.

Given under our signet, at Haghe, the 12 *day of Aprili* 1649, *and the first yeare of our reigne.*

[Directed]

To our trusty and wel-beloved THOMAS MACKEINY, *Esq. Laird of Pluscardin.*

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* This letter seems to point at the differences that always subsisted between Montrose and the Hamiltonian or Presbyterian party.

CHARLES R.

Trusty and wel-beloved, we greete you well. The many testimonies that you and your friends have formerly given of your loyalty and good affection to the king, our late father, of blessed memorie, and the condition you are now in, are sufficient arguments to us to rely and depend confidently upon you in all things that concerne our service in that kingdome of Scotland; and because our right-trusty and right well-beloved cousin, the Earle of Seafort, hath, since his coming hither, given us full assurance of his faithfullnes and integrity, we conceive his concurrence with you in that worke you have in hand will be necessarie for our service, and for the advantage of your undertakings. In the meane time, we desire you to take care of all the concernments of our said cousin, both publique and private; and, as we are truly sensible of the loyalty which yourselfe and your friends have expressed, and the losses which our said cousin, and you and they, have sustayned for our service, so, whenever it shall be in our power, we shall not faile to contribute all we may for your just reparation for the losses you have already sustayned, or shall hereafter sustayne, for our service. And that we may hereafter, vpon all occasions, communicate our desires and intentions to you, we entreate you to receave the same from our right trusty and right intirely beloved cousine the Marques of Montrose, and from our said cousine the Earle of Seafort.

Given under our signett, at the Haghe, the 3d day of June 1649, *and in the first yeare of our reigne.*

[Addressed as the preceding.]

My Lord, *Gottenberg*, 15 *December* 1649.

I am sory I heave not had so many occasions as I wold to express unto you the joy I heave of all yr honorable and freindly cariages, both concerning publick and pryvatt, which I assure yr lp. is no less contentment to your friendes, and satisfaction to all honest men, (evine those who know you not,) then it is happynes for yrself. I pray God give joy to preferr so vertuos and honorable a

tract, and be seur I shall be no longer happy then I be not thankfull for the nobell obligations I owe you. I am so prest (being to sett sayle to-morrow for Scotland) as I can say littell more, only I must yr l. a thousand thanks for yr favours and kyndness, to yr servand Mr James Woode, which I humbly intreat you continue, and I will not feale, if I heave a lyfe, to caus returne what you ar pleased to doe to any of yr servands.

I will say no more, but that I shall live or dye, my Lord, yr L. most faithfull cossing and servand,

MONTROSE.

[Directed]

For my Nobell Lord the Earle of Siafort.

I heare our cossing Chartrous hes gone to the king, which his maide me not writ unto him. *

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* Sir John Charteris of Amisfield's mother was the Lady Margaret Fleming, daughter of John, first Earl of Wigton, by Lady Lilias Graham, daughter of John, third Earl of Montrose. Sir John's fortunes were ruined through his loyalty to his sovereign, and the rapacity of some of his neighbours. The following anecdote respecting him is extracted from the MS. History of the Presbytery of Penpunt: "Near to this castle, (Glencairne,) in the year 1651, when King Charles the Second had marched with his army to England, the loyal nobility and gentry of Nidsdale and Annandale, being met for hasting out recruits of horse and foot for his majestie's service, were assaulted by an English commander, one Major Scot, son to the famous brewer's clerk, Thomas Scot, a stikling member of the Rump Parleament of England, and one of the regicides, who, after his maj.'s restitution, did receive the reward of a bold and bloody traitor. Albeit this Major Scot was commander of 14 score of experienced horsemen, yet the noblemen and gentlemen did resolve valiantly to abide their charge, though much inferior in number; and, by a party of 36 or 40 horse, commanded by Rot. Fergusson of Craigdarroch, the English forlorn-hope, being a greater number, was stoutly and resolutely charged, broken, and beaten into their body, with the loss of severall of the English, and none of his party. Thereafter the noblemen and gentlemen being led by Sir Jo. Charteris of Ampsfield, knight, did charge the body of the English, when it came up, but being inferior in number, and many of their souldiers being not weel trained, they were forced to retire. The Master of Herries then, and of late the Earl of Nidsdale, was wounded by a shot in the arm; and though some of the English, yet none of the loyal party were killed in the fight, but some were killed in the retreat, who, being denied quarters, because they could not instruct themselves to be commissionate of-

Kirwall in Orknay, 26 March 1650.

My Lord,

I receaved yr L. by Mr May, who has confirmed me in the knowledge of all yr nobell and freindly cariages, for which beleave I will serve you with my lyfe all the dayes it shall please God to len me it. I am going to the maine-land, and hes no more leasure bot to assure you I shall tender yr freindes and interests as my aune life, and still live or dye, my Lord, yr cossen and faithfull freind and servand,

Montrose.

For the Earle of Siafort.

Hage, 15 *Agust* 1649.

My Lord,

I am joyed you ar weale, tho sory you ar still in that place, for y^r^ presence wher you know wold doe much goode, since you sei affairs goe so equally and on a levell alwayes. I hope thes will fynd you goeing, and my best wishes shall accompany you alongs.

I am just now setting out, and intends to recover thir delays by the best dispatch I can. As I am able, you shall receave my accounts with that, that I shall ever be, my Lord, yr cossing and faithfull servand,

Montrose.

[Directed]

For the Right Honourable the Earle of Siafort.

Copnahagen, 27 Octobr veteri.

My Lord,

Tho I heave writt many tymes to you, which seimes is not come to yr hands, and only receaved some tuo of yrs, yett I cannot bot tell you how glaid I am att the informations I receave of yr nobell and resolutt cariages concerning his majestie, and yr kyndens towards yr friends,

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ficers, or listed souldiers, were barbarously murdered, among which a young gentleman, Ro. Maxwell of Tinnell, was one. Some others of quality being and avowing themselves souldiers, had quarter granted them, and were taken prisoners."

which I assure you hes procured you so much respect mongst all honorable people, as is not to be exchanged for a world; for what friendship you heave beane pleased to doe me the honor to witnes, (tho it can be no more then I ever promised to myself,) I will make you the faithfullest returne my lyfe can doe, and if it please God I los it not very suddenly, I shall be sure not to dye in yr debt; meanetyme, I humbly entreat you be confident, that wherever I be, or whatever occasions I may heave to correspond with you, or not, that I can never forgett what I owe you, but shall ever in all fortunes, places, and tymes, be faithfully and as effectually as it may please God I can, my Lord, yr L's. most faithfull cossing and servand, MONTROSE.

I am useing yr advyse, and setting furth in the way that is possible, and I shall make you the best account that it shall please God to give me leave.

[Directed in another hand]
For the Earle of Seaforth this.

The following Letter of the Queen of Bohemia is deemed worthy of being made public, as it contains a good deal of the characteristic spirit of the unfortunate writer.

The Hagh, this 18 *Jan.*

MY LORD,

I WOULDE not vrite to you till I coulde tell you some certaintie of the king's affaires. Yesterday Harry Seamour came hither out of Scotland; he took shipping yesterday was sevenight, the day after which was new yearsday, then the king was to be crouned, he coulde not stay to see it for feare to loose his passage, but certainlie he was crouned then: they permit all the engagers, and those that are not excommunicate and confiscat in their estats to come to court and be in the armie, but not to have anie office of note. The vertuous chancelour made a long speech against receaving of anie; but the

king told him he spoke more for Cromwell then for him, so as the vote passed for the king; yet the next day Leslie and Robin Montgomerie, two great saints, gave up a petition against the receaving of them, and having done no good, have layd doune their commissions. I hope the king will take them at there worde; in the meane time, that brave valiant Lo. Argille is all for the king! you may judge how trulie, since all his creatures are against him. I now finde you have a great reason not to venture to soone amongst them. When I shall know the king is in the heart of his armie, then I shall hope some good; for certainlie all the gentrie, nobilitie, and people in generall, are all for him. When I heare anie more, I will lett you know, for as yet I am not satisfied with this news. In the meane time, I intreat you to beleive, that I ame constantlie, your most affectionat frend,

ELIZABETH.

I send this by the direction of Leith, because the gentleman you writt to me of is not heere.

[Directed]
For the Earle of Seafort.

No. XIII.

Two Letters from Prince Rupert to the Marquis.

MY LORD,

I AM sorry that this employment will not give me leave to stir from it, else I should have been extreme willing to have met with your lordship somewhere, and conferred with you about his majesty's affairs; the bearer hereof can more fully tell your lordship how ready I shall be to join with you in any thing that may advance that service, in which you showed so much reality and forwardness; I shall therefore only trouble you with an assurance of my service to you, which shall

not be wanting in your lordship's most faithful friend to serve you,

P. RUPERT.

From on board the Admiral,
Oct. 11, 1648.

Directed thus, *To my Lord Marquis of Montrose.*

MY LORD,

I HAVE received three letters from your Lordship in one day, among which there was one sent me by Major-General Monro, whose business, though I know not, yet whenever he shall please to let me know, the assistance I shall give, it shall be set forward as much as it may. My Lord, I find upon all occasions, that your kindness to me is the same you profest, and I am very sorry that as yet there is no occasion for me to give a real testimony of mine, which I intend upon all occasions to do. Of this your Lordship may be confident, since this is from, My Lord, your Lordship's most faithful friend and servant,

P. RUPERT.

Kingragly, April 1, 1649.

No. XIV.

Commission from King Charles II. to the Marquis of Montrose, for settling the Differences with the Town of Hamburgh, and borrowing a Sum of Money from the Senate.

CHARLES R.

RIGHT trusty, and right entirely beloved cousin, we greet you well. We send you herewith a relation which we have lately received from our trusty and well beloved Sir John Cockeran, knight, of his proceedings with the town of Hamburgh; and being justly sensible how unnecessary it is for us, at this time, to make new enemies, or to be over severe in our resentments of such

things, as in a time of more prosperity we ought to insist upon; we therefore desire, and we hereby require and authorise you, to employ yourself by such ways and expedients as you shall think fit, to compose the differences, and to settle a better understanding between us and the said town of Hamburgh, only in that particular of their resolution, to receive a public minister from the bloody rebels in England, we cannot but believe it to be inconsistent with all amity and alliance with us, which, our pleasure is, shall be so represented to them, but without any menaces or threats on our part, to the end, that, if they shall avowedly receive any such public minister, we may be at liberty to take such resolution as shall be fit for our own honour and interest. In the mean time, we desire you to press the senate to give us some present testimony of their good affection, by supplying us with the loan of a considerable sum of money, upon such assurance of repayment as we can for the present give them. And if any money can be gotten from them, our pleasure is, that one half thereof shall be for your employment, and that the other half be remitted for our use, to our trusty and well beloved John Webster of Amsterdam, merchant; some proportion being first deducted out of the whole, for the supply of our trusty and well-beloved servant Sir John Cockeran, knight: And so recommending this business to your care and good endeavour, we bid you heartily farewell.

Given at St Germans,
the 5th September 1649.

No. XV.

A Letter from King Charles II. to the Marquis of Montrose, encouraging him in his preparations for making a descent upon Scotland.

My Lord,

I entreat you to go on vigorously, and with your wonted courage and care in the prosecution of those

trusts I have committed to you, and not to be startled with any reports you may hear, as if I were otherwise inclined to the Presbyterians than when I left you. I assure you I am upon the same principles I was, and depend as much as ever upon your undertakings and endeavours for my service, being fully resolved to assist and support you therein to the uttermost of my power, as you shall find in effect, when you shall desire any thing to be done by your affectionate friend,

CHARLES R.

St Germans, September 19th, 1649.

No. XVI.

An Address from the Committee of Estates in Scotland to King Charles II. after the Treaty at the Hague had miscarried.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

IF the Estates of Parliament of this your majesty's most ancient kingdom, had considered the power and prevalency of your majesty's enemies, your majesty's present condition, and the difficulties and dangers that may attend an agreement with your majesty in such a posture of affairs, they might have been silent upon the receipt of so unsatisfactory an answer to their humble and earnest desires, and waited for the express promised by your majesty in your last answer to their commissioners. But being very desirous to witness their tender regard to your majesty, and because they would not be wanting in any thing which might evidence the sincerity and constancy of their affection, and beget a right understanding betwixt your majesty and your loyal and faithful subjects of this kingdom, they have resolved upon this new address; there being no earthly thing more in their desires, than that your majesty may rule over them, and that your throne may be established in religion and righteousness.

We doubt not but your majesty hath seriously con-

sidered your present estate, and weighed the great dangers that do and may further arise from delay in resolution; yet we crave leave humbly to represent, that it is matter of much trouble and sadness for us, to think that your majesty should live among strangers, and relying upon the uncertain aid of foreigners, stand at such a distance with your well affected subjects, who, against all difficulties and impediments, are most willing to interest themselves in your majesty's affairs according to *the Covenant*. And we cannot but acquaint your majesty, that it is unto us matter of admiration, that your majesty should at this time forbear to declare your intentions and resolutions, whilst your adversaries, the murderers of your royal father and our native king, are very active and industrious, both at home and abroad, and leave no means unassayed which may either gain reputation to themselves, or lessen your majesty's estimation with your people.

As we are much grieved to consider the many inconveniences which accompany your majesty's irresolution, so are we much more afflicted to think of the sad effects that may ensue, in case your majesty should be induced to believe, that it can be safe for your majesty to trust your person or affairs to the Papists in Ireland, who, for the enmity to the reformed religion, and cruel murder of many thousand Protestants in that kingdom, are long since become detestable to all your majesty's subjects, who either fear God, honour your majesty, or wish well to the peace of these kingdoms.

We do therefore most humbly beg and earnestly beseech, that your majesty would, in your princely wisdom, seasonably lay to heart your own estate, the long continued distraction of your kingdoms, and the equity of our humble desires presented unto your majesty by our commissioners; which, if your majesty shall graciously be pleased to grant, and above all, if your majesty shall cordially enter into the *Solemn League and Covenant*, is the only way to procure the Lord's blessing on all your undertakings, and the hearty concurrence of your well affected subjects in all your kingdoms, for restoring your majesty to your just

power and authority. And for our parts, we dare confidently say in his sight who is the searcher of hearts, that your majesty may thereupon assuredly expect from this kingdom all the testimonies of affection and fidelity, according to our covenant, that dutiful and loyal subjects are capable of, for restoring your majesty to the possession of the government of your kingdoms.

If, in order to these ends, your majesty shall be pleased to acknowledge the present parliament of this kingdom, particularly the two last sessions thereof, in this year 1649, and the committee having authority from them in the interval of parliament, we are resolved to make a solemn address unto your majesty for a full agreement, upon the grounds contained in the former desires of your majesty's most humble, most loyal, and most obedient subjects.

LOUDOUN, Cancellarius.

Signed in name and by command of the Parliament of Scotland.

Edinburgh, 7*th August* 1649.

No. XVII.

A Letter from his Majesty to the Committee of Estates, in Answer to their Address, and appointing their Commissioners to meet and treat with him at Breda.

WE have received your several letters lately presented to us by Mr Wynram of Liberton, and do graciously accept of all those expressions of affection and fidelity you make to us therein, together with that tender sense of our present condition, and just indignation which you profess to have against the execrable murderers of the king, our late dear and royal father, of blessed memory; believing that your intentions are as full of loyalty and candour to us, as we are, and always have been, real in our desires to beget such a clear and right

understanding between us and all our subjects of that our ancient kingdom of Scotland, as might be a sure foundation of their future peace and happiness, and an effectual means to root up those seeds of division and animosity which have been occasioned by the late troubles, and so to unite the hearts and affections of our subjects to one another, and to us their lawful king and sovereign, that, by their due obedience and submission to our just authority, we may be enabled to maintain them in peace and prosperity, and to protect them in their religion and liberties, as to our kingly office belongeth. And as we have ever resolved to contribute all that depends on us to these good ends, and to the just satisfaction of all our subjects of that our kingdom; so we have now thought fit, by the return of Mr Wynram, to desire that commissioners be sent to us, sufficiently authorised, to treat and agree with us upon all particulars, as well in relation to the concernments and just satisfaction of our subjects there, as to those helps and assistances we may reasonably expect from them, for the bringing of the murderers of our late dear father, of blessed memory, to condign punishment, and for the recovery of our just rights in all our kingdoms; and that they attend us by the 15th of March next at Breda, where we intend, God willing, to be. In order whereunto, and in confidence of such a treaty, as also to evidence to you, and to the whole world, that we sincerely desire to agree with you, and expecting that no other use shall be made of it to the prejudice of us or our affairs, than what we intend in order to the treaty, notwithstanding many important considerations that might have dissuaded us from doing any thing antecedently at this time, we have resolved to direct this letter unto you, by the name of *the Committee of Estates* of that our kingdom, hoping, that, from the confidence we express in your clear and candid intentions towards us, you will derive effectual arguments to yourselves of mutual confidence in us, which, by the blessing of Almighty God, by your just and prudent moderation, by the earnest desire we have to oblige all our subjects of that kingdom, and by the means of the treaty which we expect and desire,

may be the foundation of a full and happy agreement between us, and of the future peace and security of that nation; which, we assure you, we passionately desire, and shall effectually endeavour. And so we bid you very heartily farewell.

CHARLES R.

Given at our Court in Jersey, the 22-12*th day of January,* 1649-50, *in the first year of our reign.*

No. XVIII.

A Letter from his Majesty to the Marquis of Montrose, sent him with copies of the Committee's Address, and his Majesty's Answer, and requiring him to prosecute his design upon Scotland vigorously.

CHARLES R.

RIGHT trusty and right entirely beloved cousin, we greet you well. An address having been lately made to us from Scotland, by a letter, whereof we send you the copy herewith, wherein they desire that we should acknowledge their parliament, and particularly the two last sessions of it, and thereupon offer to send a solemn address to us for a full agreement; we have, in answer thereunto, returned our letters to them, a copy whereof we likewise send you here inclosed, by which we have appointed a speedy time and place for their commissioners to attend us: and to the end you may not apprehend that we intend, either by any thing contained in those letters, or by the treaty we expect, to give the least impediment to your proceedings, we think fit to let you know, that as we conceive that your preparations have been one effectual motive, that has induced them to make the said address to us; so your vigorous proceeding will be a good means to bring them to such moderation in the said treaty as probably may produce

an agreement, and a present union of that whole nation in our service. We assure you, therefore, that we will not, before or during the treaty, do any thing contrary to that power and authority which we have given you by our commission, nor consent to any thing that may bring the least degree of diminution to it; and if the said treaty should produce an agreement, we will, with our uttermost care, so provide for the honour and interest of yourself, and of all that shall engage with you, as shall let the whole world see the high esteem we have of you, and our full confidence in that eminent courage, conduct, and loyalty, which you have always expressed to the king our late dear father, of blessed memory, and to us, both by your actions and sufferings for our cause. In the mean time, we think fit to declare to you, that we have called them *a Committee of Estates*, only in order to a treaty, and for no other end whatever; and if the treaty do not produce an agreement, as we are already assured, that the calling of them *a Committee of Estates*, in the direction of a letter, doth neither acknowledge them to be legally so, nor make them such; so we shall immediately declare to all our subjects of Scotland what we hold them to be, notwithstanding any appellation we now give them; thereby to satisfy them and the whole world, that we desire to reduce our subjects of that kingdom to their due obedience to us, by our just and honourable condescensions, and by all endeavours of kindness and favour on our part, rather than by war and hostility, if their unreasonable demands do not necessitate us to that, as to the only way and remedy left us. We require and authorise you to proceeed vigorously and effectually in your undertaking, and to act in all things in order to it, as you shall judge most necessary for the support thereof, and for our service in that way; wherein we doubt not, but all our loyal and well affected subjects of Scotland will cordially and effectually join with you, and by that addition of strength, either dispose those that are otherwise minded to make reasonable demands to us in the treaty, or be able to force them to it by arms, in case of their obstinate refusal. To which end, we authorise you to communicate and

publish this our letter to all such persons as you shall think fit.

No. XIX.

Declaration of his Excellency James Marquis of Montrose, Earl of Kincardine, Lord Graham, Baron of Montdieu, Lieutenant-governor and Captain-general for his Majesty of the Kingdom of Scotland, anno 1649.

In tanta reipublicæ necessitudine, suspecto senatûs populique imperio, ob certamina potentium et avaritiam magistratuum, invalido legum auxilio; quæ vi, ambitu, postremo pecunia turbabantur; omnem potestatem ad unum redire pacis interfuit, non aliud discordantis patriæ remedium quam ut ab uno regeretur.

C. Tacitus.

Though it may seem both a public and private injury, rather than matter of duty or just procedure, to do any act whatsomever, that can in so much as appear to dispute the clearness of this present service, or to hold such enemies as a party, the justice of his majesty's cause, the wickedness of those rebels, and my own integrity, being all of them so well and so thoroughly known as they are. Yet, the further to confirm the world, the more to encourage all who are to engage, and the powerfullier to convince many who have harmlessly been involved, and innocently inveigled in those desperate courses, I do, in the name of his most sacred majesty, and by virtue of the power and authority granted by him unto me, declare,

That howbeit there have been, and still are, an horrid and infamous faction of rebels within the kingdom of Scotland, who most causelessly at first did hatch a rebellion against his late majesty, of glorious memory; and when he had granted unto them, by their own acknowledgment, all their violent and most unjust desires, they were so far from resting, notwithstanding, satis-

fied, as that, being themselves able to find no further pretences, they did perniciously solicit one party in the kingdom of England, to begin where shame and necessity had inforced them to leave off; and when those of the English, being by much less wicked, would have often satisfied themselves by his majesty's extraordinary concessions, they then, not intending the desperate lengths which fatal success and their hollow practices did thereafter drive them to, did still thrust in, as oil to the fire, and ganger to the wound, until they had rendered all irrecoverable: neither were they contented in the fox-skin alone to act this their so brutish a tragedy, which indeed could never have served their ends, but while they had received all imaginable satisfaction at home, as their own very acts of parliament doth witness, wherein they say, "That his late majesty parted a contented king from a contented people," finding their rebel brood whom they had begot in England beginning to lessen, and that his majesty's party appeared to have by much the better, they not only, contrary to the duty of subjects, but all faith, covenants, oaths, attestations, to which they had so often invoked God, his angels, the world and all, as witnesses, did enter with a strong army the kingdom of England, persecute their prince in a foreign nation, assist a company of stranger rebels, against their native king, and those of his loyal party, within that same kingdom, except for which, the whole world does know, his majesty had, without all peradventure, prevailed. And not ashamed of all this, which even many of their own party did blush to avow, when his late majesty was, by, God knows, how many unhappy treacheries, redacted to think upon extreme courses for his safety, he was pleased out of his so much invincible goodness, and natural inclination towards his native people, notwithstanding all their former villanies, to chuse that ignoble party to fall upon, thinking, that those whom his greatness and their duty could not oblige, his misery and their compassion might perhaps move with pity; yet too justly fearing their *Punic* faiths, he first resolved to engage them by a treaty; after which, when, by many intercourses, his ma-

jesty had received all manner of assurances, which, though shame would make them willingly excuse, yet guilt will let them have nothing to say for it, it being so undeniable, and to all the world so known a truth, casting himself in their hands, they, contrary to all faith and paction, trust of friends, duty of subjects, laws of hospitality, nature, nations, divine and human, for which there hath never been precedent, nor can ever be a follower, most infamously, and beyond all imaginable expression of invincible baseness, to the blush of Christians and abomination of mankind, sold their sovereign over to their merciless fellow-traitors to be destroyed; with whom, how they have complotted his destruction, their secret intercourses, both before, in the time, and since this horrid murder, do too evidently declare. Of all which villanies they are so little touched with the guilt, as they now begin with his majesty upon the same scores they left with his father, declaring him king with provisos; so robbing him of all right, while they would seem to give some unto him; pressing him to join with those who have rigged all his dominions in rebellion, and laid all royal power into the dust, that in effect he would condemn the memory of his sacred father, destroy himself, and ruin his faithful party within all those dominions. These are those who at first entered England, soliciting all to rise in this desperate rebellion, as the prologue of their ensuing tragedy; who were the chief and main instruments of all the battles, slaughters, and bloody occasions within that kingdom; who sold their sovereign unto the death, and that yet digs in his grave; and who are more perniciously hatching the destruction of his present majesty, by the same bare, old, out-dated treacheries, than ever they did his sacred father's: yet the people in general having been but ignorantly misled to it, whose eyes now for the most part God has opened, and turned their hearts, at least their desires, to their dutiful obedience, and that there has still been a loyal party, who have given such proofs of their integrity, as his majesty is moved with a tender compassion for those righteous

sakes, in behalf of all who now at last have remorse for their former misdemeanours. His majesty is not only willing to pardon every one, excepting such who, upon clear evidences, shall be found guilty of that most damnable fact of murder of his father, who, upon sight or knowledge hereof, do immediately, or upon the first possible conveniency, abandon those rebels, and rise and join themselves with us and our forces in this present service; but also to assure all who are, or will turn loyal unto him, of that nation, that it is his majesty's resolution, which he doth assure, and promise unto them upon the word of a prince, to be ever ready to ratify so soon as it shall please God to put it in his power, according to the advice of the supreme judicatures of that kingdom, all that has been done by his royal father, in order to their peace; desiring nothing more but their dutiful obedience and faithful services, for the revenge of the horrid murder of his father, his just re-establishment, and their own perpetual happiness under his government.

Wherefore, all who have any duty left them to God, their king, country, friends, homes, wives, children, or would change now at last the tyranny, violence, and oppression of those rebels, with the mild and innocent government of their just prince, or revenge the horrid and execrable murder of their sacred king, redeem their nation from infamy, themselves from slavery, restore the present, and oblige the ages to come; let them as Christians, subjects, patriots, friends, husbands, and fathers, join themselves forthwith with us in this present service, that is so full of conscience, duty, honour, and all just interests, and not apprehend any evils, which they may fear can fall, half so much as those they presently lie under; for though there may appear many difficulties, yet let them not doubt of God's justice, nor the happy providence that may attend his majesty, nor their own resolutions, nor the fortunes of those who are joined withal; resolving, with Joab, to play the men for their people, and the cities of their God, and let the Lord do whatever seemeth him good; wherein, whatsomever shall behappen, they may at least be assured of

Crastinus's recompence, that, dead or alive, the world will give them thanks. MONTROSE.

No. XX.

Edinburgh, January 2, 1650. Ante-meridiem.

The Declaration and Warning of the Commission of the General Assembly, unto all the Members of this Kirk and Kingdom, in Answer to a Paper entitled and reputed the Declaration of James Graham.

ALBEIT the carriage of those who are engaged in the work of reformation in this land, hath been from the beginning so agreeable to the rule of the word of God and sound reason, and so eminently owned and blessed by the Lord in all the tenor and procedure thereof, as may sufficiently refute all the calumnies of enemies, and strengthen his people against all their slanders and attempts for undoing of the same; yet lest our silence in this day of blasphemy and rebuke should be construed either as a neglect of our duty, or as a weakness through the sense of the guilt, to wipe off the aspersions that are vented to the world in the name of that excommunicate and forfeited traitor James Graham, we have resolved, till there may be opportunity for a larger declaration, shortly to touch the revilings contained in that paper, and to declare unto men their duty in reference to such purposes and desires as are holden forth therein.

In the first place, the instruments of the work of reformation are charged "as an horrid and infamous faction of rebels, who did hatch a rebellion against his late majesty:" but to say nothing that that wretched man was accessory unto the laying of the foundation of that blessed work, which now, in the blindness of his mind and hardness of his heart, as being given up of God, as Pharaoh was, he calls rebellion. This is no other than

the common calumny that hath been cast upon the servants of God from the beginning of the world, in all their endeavours and attempts for reformation of religion. Was it rebellion to stand to our defence, when, instead of an answer to all the earnest and reiterated supplications and desires of this land, against the corruptions of doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, we were invaded with an army both by sea and land, that a yoke might be wreathed about our necks by oppression and violence? Not only had we the Lord's word, and the practice of the reformed churches abroad, and of our own church at home in the days of our fathers, to justify us in this, but also the king himself, who, upon information, did retract the declaration set forth against us, and granted what we had desired.

Next it is charged upon this nation, "that they did solicit a party in the kingdom of England to begin where they had left off, and that finding their rebel-brood there beginning to lessen, they did, contrary to all faith, covenants, oaths, &c. enter with a strong army the kingdom of England, persecute their prince in a foreign nation, and assist a company of stranger-rebels against their native king," &c. What was the grounds and first rise of the war betwixt the king and the parliament of England, needs not now to be repeated, being so well known every where; but this nation were so far from fomenting of the same, that for a long time they did mediate a peace; and so continued, until England, by their earnest invitation, did for the preservation and reformation of religion, the honour and happiness of the king, the peace and good of these kingdoms, crave their assistance against the popish, prelatical, and malignant party then in arms, who were like to have destroyed all: for which end, when they had entered in a solemn league and covenant with that nation, as they did oblige themselves for the defence and preservation of his majesty's person, and just greatness and authority in the defence and preservation of religion, so they did never desist to solicit his majesty for satisfaction to the just desires of both kingdoms, and were al-

ways, upon his majesty's granting of the same, willing to admit him to the exercise of his royal power.

Thirdly, it is alleged, "That after all manner of assurances given to his majesty before his coming to the Scottish army, notwithstanding of assurances, he was sold unto the English." But we are confident that, albeit all the generation of malignants of the three kingdoms have now for three years together filled this, and the nations abroad, with the noise of such things, yet to this day never any of them did, nor could bring any evidence of such assurance given, or such bargain made by this kingdom; nay, such assurances were always refused; and when the king did cast himself upon the Scottish army, this kingdom was so far from making any sale of him, that they did not condescend to leave him with his subjects in England, until sufficient surety was given by both houses of parliament concerning the safety and preservation of his majesty's person. It is great malice to say, that because the Scottish army, about the time of his majesty's living at Newcastle, did receive some part of those arrears due unto them for their painful and faithful service in England, that, therefore, this kingdom did sell their king; the arrears which were then received were due before the king came unto our army, and in all probability had been more timeously and cheerfully paid if he had not come thither at all.

Fourthly, they are slandered "as complotters of the king's destruction, by secret intercourses, both before, in the time, and since his majesty's horrid murder." If those things be evident, why were not proofs brought forth and produced before the world, for convincing the authors and abettors thereof, and gaining credit to the cause of those that make so bold allegeances? The public endeavours of this kirk and kingdom against the taking of his majesty's life, do sufficiently refute all such secret and private whisperings.

Lastly, they are charged "as robbers of the king, who now is, of all right, because of their declaring him king with provisos." But are these provisos or conditions any other than such as have been in the time of

his predecessors, and whereunto, by the laws and constitutions of this kingdom, he is obliged, and without which, religion and the peace of the kingdom cannot be secured.

These, and the like slanders, are made a ground of invitation unto the people of this land to abandon the cause and work of reformation, and to rise in arms against the parliament and kingdom, and join themselves with such forces as that monster of men and his accomplices shall make use of for invading of this land; to which he labours to persuade by a promise of pardon for what is past, and of his majesty's resolution "to be ever ready to ratify, so soon as it shall please God to put it in his power, according to the advice of the supreme judicatories of this kingdom, all that has been done by his royal father in order to our peace." Though we should be silent and say nothing, we are persuaded that there be none in the land who has any regard to truth or righteousness, or in whom any sponk of the love of the Lord's work, or of this country, does reside, but as they abominate and abhor the very name of that excommunicate wretch, and think these lies worthy of no other entertainment than is to be allowed to the devices of the father of lies, unto whose hands he is delivered; so we are confident that they will detest and avoid all such desperate and wicked designs, attempted whether by him or by any other. Shall men, after so many solemn vows and promises before the Lord, and when his hand, lifted up so high in making plain before them the way wherein they should walk, be so blind and base as to be charmed into a most godless course, against religion and the blood of the Lord's people, by the offer of a pardon, where there has been no transgression but a following of duty? or shall any be cheated into a delusion by a flourish of most ambiguous words, of his majesty's resolution to be ever ready to ratify, so soon as it shall please God to put it in his power, according to the advice of the supreme judicatories of this kingdom, all that has been done by his royal father in order to our peace? To say nothing that the league and covenant, and the union betwixt the kingdoms, and the whole

work of uniformity is here cut off at one clap, though yet we trust that these things will be dearer to all the Lord's people in the land than their estates or lives; the words are so empty and doubtful as may suffer any interpretation men list to put upon them, and may consist with the utter undoing of all that has been done in this land for asserting the purity of religion and the liberty of the subject. His majesty must first be put in power before he engage himself to do any thing at all, and when in power, no obligation upon him, unless the supreme judicatories of the kingdom shall so advise; neither is it determined what these judicatories are, whether his majesty shall be obliged to follow their advice; and, which is more strange, religion is not so much as named in all the concession, but all is wrapped under the notion of these things which the king his royal father granted in order to our peace; which may be so expounded as to take in things civil only, that concern the peace of the kingdom, or, at the best, insinuates the motive of all that his majesty granted concerning religion to this kingdom, to have been only a desire of peace, and not any thing in religion itself; and so draws along with it a secret reflection upon the national covenant, and all the work of God relating thereto, and concludes them alterable, as the change may produce peace or war. We think we need not desire any man to consider what could be the case of religion, and of all that love it in this land, if it were in the power of that perfidious and proud atheist to model the supreme judicatories of the kingdom according to his mind. He who hath so far forgotten his covenant and oath, in which he entered in so public and solemn a way, as to call all that is contained therein, and has flowed therefrom, violent and most unjust desires, and the work of reformation from the beginning rebellion, will not spare the overturning and destroying thereof, and the bringing back this poor nation to the licking up of the vomit of prelacy, the ceremonies and the service-book, for making way to a fuller compliance with the church of Rome; which we have the more cause to fear, for that the free exercise and full liberty of popish religion is granted by

his majesty to those bloody rebels in Ireland. To us it is above question, that, as the alteration of religion, and the establishing of an arbitrary and illimited power for bringing the same about, was the design from the beginning, so, that the same is still promoted by the popish, prelatical, and malignant party, and shall, if they prevail, be the fruit of their works.

Therefore, as the servants of the living God, we warn and obtest all the Lord's people throughout the land, that, as they would not draw on themselves the wrath of the most high God, by breach of covenant and gross backsliding, that they do not hearken to any such calumnies and slanders, nor suffer themselves, by the power thereof, to be drawn from their stedfastness, or to give any connivance, let be countenance or assistance, unto any who shall invade this kingdom, or raise war therein, under pretence of commission from his majesty, and putting him in the exercise of his royal power, before satisfaction be had from him to the just and necessary desires of this kirk and kingdom, concerning religion and the covenant. The late General Assembly, in their declaration, did, by many grave and undeniable reasons, demonstrate the unlawfulness and sinfulness of any such attempt; and it shall be now seasonable for any man who doubts, to make use of these things for satisfying his judgment, and convincing him in the point of conscience, that he may not dash himself against the rock of the Lord's power, which shall certainly break in pieces all those that oppose themselves to his work, and lead forth with the workers of iniquity all those that turn aside to their crooked ways.

Albeit, the avenging hand of the Most High hath pursued, and followed with vengeance, many of those who assisted that unnatural man in the shedding of the blood of his country, and that many of them have tasted of the bitter fruits both of civil and ecclesiastic censures, and that a temptation to so great a wickedness from such an one as James Graham, seems to be so gross as may scar most of the malignant party themselves, who yet continue in opposition to the work of God, let be those who have humbled themselves for their former

compliances with evil courses, or have kept their integrity without swerving; yet it shall be the wisdom of all within the land, to guard their hearts by prayer and supplication, and to arm themselves with the strength of the Lord against defection. Experience hath proven throughout all the tract of the work of God, that many hath fallen off from day to day, and that new trials have produced new discoveries of the hollowness of the hearts of some, concerning whom many did promise to themselves better things. None can be stedfast in the covenant but these whose hearts are right with God. We wish, therefore, every man to search and try his ways, and as to repent of all his former provocations, so, in the strength of the Mediator, Jesus Christ, to study to walk with God, and to order his conversation aright; then may we be confident that the Lord shall establish us, and that no weapon that is formed against us shall prosper, and that every tongue that riseth against us in judgment we shall condemn.

A. Ker.

No. XXI.

Edinburgh, January 24, 1650.

A Declaration of the Committee of Estates of the Parliament of Scotland, in vindication of their proceedings from the aspersions of a scandalous Pamphlet, published by that excommunicate Traitor, James Graham, under the title of A Declaration of James Marquis of Montrose.

It may seem strange to such as know the state of affairs in this kingdom, that we should think it worth the while to answer the slanders and groundless reproaches of that viperous brood of Satan, James Graham, whom the estates of parliament have long since declared traitor, the church hath delivered into the hands of the devil, and the nation doth generally detest and abhor; since we know there hath been, and will be in all ages, a wic-

ked rabble of godless men, who make it their work to follow the righteous cause with aspersions and calumnies, and it is an endless labour to answer every voice that speaks against the truth; and seeing also at length the innocence of our cause, the integrity of our hearts, and the candor of our actions, will prevail over the malicious tongues of our adversaries; yet, because our silence may be subject to misconstruction, and some of the weaker sort may be inveigled by the bold assertions and railing accusations of this impudent braggard, presenting himself to the view of the world, clothed with his majesty's authority as lieutenant-governor and captain-general of this kingdom, we shall shortly answer what is said against us, take off the mask which he hath put on, and expose him to public view in his own apparel.

This excommunicate traitor, in the first place, chargeth his own nation with hatching a rebellion in this kingdom, then with the promoting the like in England, and lastly, with the sale and murder of their native king, and robbing his son of all right; horrid crimes indeed, if true. But how can we be accounted the hatchers or designers, or in the least sort the disturbers of the peace? Were we not living quietly and peaceably, when that new liturgy, purposely compiled to introduce a change of religion, and compliance with popery, was violently pressed upon us? and when this and other innovations in the matter of religion were condemned by the general assembly, holden at Glasgow in the year 1638, were we not invaded with armies both by sea and land? Did we offer to stir, until religion and justice, the main pillars of government, were shaken, and near to be overturned? And shall the standing upon our own defence for preservation of our religion and liberties be reckoned rebellion? Did we desire any other thing of his majesty, when we were in arms, but that all matters ecclesiastical should be determined by the assemblies of the church, and matters civil by the parliament? And so soon as his majesty did assent thereunto, did we not forthwith lay down our arms within the space of forty-eight hours, and return to our own homes, leaving all forts and castles to his majesty's disposal?

After all differences about religion were settled in a new general assembly of the kirk, with consent and approbation of his majesty's commissioner, in the year 1639, and after he had in his majesty's name subscribed the covenant, he did unexpectedly prorogue the parliament without consent of the estates of parliament, contrary to the laws of the kingdom, and to the agreement and pacification at Berwick; and commissioners, sent to his majesty to give account of the proceedings of the assembly and parliament, and represent their humble desires, were, upon the suggestion of wicked counsellors about his majesty, put under restraint, and one of them made close prisoner, contrary to the law of nations, and his majesty's royal warrant; a garrison of English was put in the castle of Edinburgh, which, beside other violence and outrages, killed divers women and children; our ships and goods were taken, and the owners stript naked, and more barbarously used than with Turks and infidels; a new army was levied against us, in England, in the year 1640, and a commission granted to the Earl of Northumberland to subdue and destroy us; and, generally, great preparations were made both at home and abroad, without ever signifying the cause, or any quarrel against us; whereupon we were again necessitated to take up arms for our own defence, and, with our supplications in the one hand, and swords in the other, to make way through our enemies' forces to present our just grievances to his majesty. When we were advanced the length of Newcastle, we were commanded by his majesty to halt there, and to make known our desires by commissioners, to which we readily obeyed, and, through the Lord's blessing, a happy agreement was again made betwixt his majesty and us, and betwixt the two kingdoms. All proclamations, books, and libels, against us, were recalled, suppressed, and forbidden; and at the close of the treaty, our loyalty was made known, at the time of thanksgiving for the peace, in all the parish churches of his majesty's dominions, and the authors and fomenters of these troubles were, with his majesty's consent, referred to the trial and censure of the respective parliaments in both kingdoms;

of which number, James Graham, then Earl of Montrose, was found to be one, and therefore imprisoned in the castle of Edinburgh. His late majesty himself then being judge, we are justified, and James Graham condemned; for his majesty having come in person to this kingdom, parted a contented king from a contented people, leaving him to be arraigned before the commission, appointed by his majesty and the estates of parliament for the trial of incendiaries.

In the next place, this libeller chargeth us with soliciting a party in England to begin where we had broke off, hindering them, when they were willing, to rest satisfied with his majesty's extraordinary concessions, and afterward for assisting them with a strong army against our native king.

What can be alleged with less probability and more malice than this; to say, we studied to widen the breach, when it is well known our loyalty and love to peace made us send commissioners expressly to endeavour a reconciliation. All that know any thing of the beginning of that difference betwixt his majesty and his subjects of England, may easily perceive that we had not the least hand in contriving it: The matters then in question betwixt his majesty and his two houses of parliament were about their own privileges and the rebellion in Ireland, of the rise and progress whereof we suppose even James Graham himself will acquit us.

Touching the assistance given by this kingdom to the houses of parliament about the year 1643, it was not given unrequired, or without cause, nor upon uncertain or unlawful conditions, as he would inform; but this kingdom having used their best endeavours by way of mediation and intercession with his majesty for an agreement with his houses of parliament of England, without success, and his majesty having made an agreement with the rebels in Ireland, whom formerly he had declared traitors, for their bloody massacre of many thousand Protestants, and having also entrusted divers popish commanders in his majesty's armies in England, whereby the popish, prelatical, and malignant party, in all appearance, were likely to prevail over all that

were well affected to the reformed religion, we granted assistance unto them, upon the earnest invitation of both houses of parliament, and a solemn league and covenant between the nations for reformation and defence of religion, the honour and happiness of the king, and the peace and safety of the three kingdoms; which was first approved and solemnly sworn in England, by the two houses of parliament, and assembly of divines, and afterward by the commission of the general assembly of this kirk, and convention of estates, as the most powerful mean, by the blessing of God, for settling and preserving the true Protestant religion with perfect peace in his majesty's dominions, and for establishing his majesty's throne to all ages and generations.

These are the grounds whereupon we engaged to give assistance to the kingdom of England, as may be clearly seen in the covenant, treaty, and declarations of the kingdoms, which grounds are conscientious and just in themselves; and where any swerved from these principles, by declining either to malignancy on the one hand, or to sectarism on the other, we are confident that none can with justice charge the corruptions and failings of men upon the rule according to which they ought to have walked; nor can they impute their faults to us, who have carefully studied and endeavoured to pursue those ends, as we are able to demonstrate from all our proceedings.

His last and main forgeries against us are, that his late majesty, being redacted to think on extreme courses, did engage us by a treaty; and having got all manner of assurance from us, did cast himself in the hands of our army, which was sent into England for assistance of the two houses of parliament against the popish, prelatical, and malignant party; and that we, contrary to all faith, paction, and duty, sold our sovereign, and afterwards complotted his destruction, and now begin upon the same score with the son, declaring him king with provisos, and robbing him of all right while we would seem to give unto him, and are more perniciously hatching the destruction of his present majesty than ever we did his sacred father's.

What a strange contexture of multiplied lies doth this malicious man heap together? In all this, there is not one word true, save one, that his majesty was redacted to think on extreme courses; and that makes against him; for Sir Thomas Fairfax, having defeated the king's forces in the fields, suddenly resolved to block up Oxford, where the king was in person, thinking that the shortest way to put an end to their troubles; wherewith his majesty being surprised, privately escaped with two or three from Oxford, uncertain whither to go; first he came toward London, as far as Harrow on the Hill, which is about ten miles from it; and being previously advertised, that he could not be in London with safety, he directed his course toward the sea; and that likewise failing, he came into the Scottish army without acquainting those that had the trust and charge of the army. Where was either time or place for a treaty here, and what were these assurances which were given? His late majesty was often told, while he was at Newcastle, that he came to them without any invitation, assurance, or engagement on their parts; and, no doubt, if there had been any the least assurance given, it had been long since made known to the world; but it was so far on the contrary, as doth appear by the letter of the committee of the parliament of Scotland, residing with their army in England, to the committee of both houses of parliament, written upon the 5th of May 1646, being the very same day that his majesty came into their quarters, "That they were filled with amazement at his coming:" In which letter they do farther profess, "That they cannot think that his majesty could have been so unadvised in his resolution, to have cast himself upon that army, without a real intention to give full satisfaction to both kingdoms in all their just and reasonable demands, and whatsoever should be in his disposition or resolution, that the parliament of England might be assured that they should never entertain any thought, nor correspond with any purpose, nor countenance any endeavours, that may, in any circumstance, encroach upon the solemn league and covenant, or weaken the union and confidence betwixt the two nations." They

did likewise declare the same to his majesty, and earnestly entreat "that he would give speedy satisfaction to his parliaments of both kingdoms," and clearly represented unto him, "that, if he should not grant their just desires, they would be constrained to take such a course as, by the mutual advice and resolution of both kingdoms, they might be saved from a breach, and the dangerous consequences thereof." The lord-general, the Earl of Leven, and the officers and soldiers of the army, did also join in a declaration, to make known "their constant resolution to adhere to the whole heads and articles of their covenant, and that his majesty's presence had not begotten any alteration in their minds in the least measure, to estrange them from the ways of the covenant." And further, it is a thing very improbable, that the committee residing with the army would enter into a treaty with his majesty, for which they could never be able to give an account to the parliament of Scotland, it being altogether without the bounds of their commission and instructions, and an express article of the treaty betwixt the kingdoms, "That no cessation, nor any pacification, or agreement for peace whatsoever, shall be made by either kingdom, or the armies of either kingdom, without the mutual advice and consent of both kingdoms." But that which removes it beyond all controversy is, his majesty's own profession in his letters to both houses of parliament, and to the committee of estates of the parliament of Scotland, of the 18th and 19th of May, wherein he declares, "That he came to the Scottish army with a full and absolute intention to give all just satisfaction to the joint desire of both kingdoms, and with no thought either to continue this unnatural war any longer, or to make a division betwixt the kingdoms, but to comply with his parliaments, and those entrusted by them, in every thing for the settling of truth and peace; that he had received some papers from their commissioners, and that he would study totally to apply himself to the advices and counsels of his parliament; that he had given order for the recalling all commissions issued forth by his authority against his subjects, and for dis-

banding all his forces; and ordered a proclamation, together with his letter, to be published to all his subjects, that it might appear it was his voluntary and cordial resolution and real intention to join with his parliaments in settling religion in purity, after the advice of the divines of both kingdoms assembled at Westminster, and his subjects of both kingdoms in freedom and safety." Upon these terms the Scottish army did receive him, and would have cheerfully adventured their lives, and all that was dearest unto them, for preservation of his person, honour, and happiness, against all opposition whatsoever: But how far his majesty was from following the advice of his parliaments of both kingdoms, was too, too manifest, when he refused to grant the propositions of both, presented unto him at Newcastle, in the month of July, by their commissioners, or to give a satisfactory answer to any of them; notwithstanding many of the chief of the nobility of this kingdom and his privy council did beg his assent upon their knees, and, with tears in their eyes, represented the sad consequences of his refusal. *

Whilst these things were doing, the sectarian party, who never liked any agreement for peace which might carry along with it the Presbyterian interest, fearing that the king should at length be induced to give satisfaction to the joint desires of both kingdoms in the propositions of peace, by all means studied and endeavoured the removal of the Scottish army out of England; for which end they were very busy by their emissaries and agents amongst the members of parliament, and in the city and committee. In the house of commons their party was not great; but most of the members, being very desirous to be eased of the great burden continued upon the kingdom now after the war was at an end, and not perceiving the design of the sectaries, did, upon the 19th of May, within a fortnight after the king came to the Scottish army, join in a vote to declare that the kingdom of England had no further

* See the Lord Chancellor's speech to his majesty at Newcastle.

use for the continuing of the Scottish army in that kingdom, and that, upon adjusting of their accompts, they shall be satisfied what shall be due unto them according to the treaty. Hereupon all supplies for entertainment of that army were withdrawn, though earnestly solicited by the commissioners of this kingdom, and for want thereof the army was necessitated to take free quarters from the country people; also secret directions were given to the parliament's forces, who lay near the Scottish army, to straiten their quarters, which was done accordingly: whereupon they were necessitated to quarter in the four most northern counties, and a small part of Yorkshire, the most barren parts of that kingdom, which made the burden of those places grow insupportable: thence arose clamours and complaints of intolerable oppression; and these were represented in a multiplying glass, with large additions and aggravations to the houses of parliament, so as it was made common discourse that the Scots came in for their assistance, but were like to stay for their ruin, and if they continued any longer in the kingdom, the northern parts would be utterly wasted, and many families perish. Further, by the industry of the sectaries, libels and railing pamphlets were published, and informations spread against the Scots, as covenant-breakers, apostates from the cause, and compliers with the malignant party, the better to prepare the minds of the people for removing our army by force, if it would not willingly; but the kingdom of Scotland being desirous to apply themselves to such fair and just ways as tended to an amicable parting, and to the prevention of misunderstandings between the kingdoms, did, in the beginning of August, give power to their commissioners at London to settle all differences concerning the pay of the Scottish army; and the houses of parliament having offered to pay presently two hundred thousand pounds, before the removal of our army out of that kingdom, and other two hundred thousand pounds thereafter, the commissioners of this kingdom did, upon the 2d of September, declare themselves satisfied therewith, and passed from their former claim, extending to very near ten hun-

dred thousand pounds, that it might appear to all the world that the love of money was neither the cause of their coming into, or abode in that kingdom. There remained no material difference betwixt the nations, save only concerning the disposal of the king's person, his majesty having refused to grant the propositions of peace. Upon the 18th of September, the House of Commons did vote, that the person of the king shall be disposed of as both houses of the parliament of England shall think fit, wherein the House of Lords gave their concurrence upon the 24th; and a grand committee of lords and commons were appointed to confer, consult, and debate with the commissioners of this kingdom concerning the disposal of the person of the king; but before the houses would give their consent to begin this conference, they declared, that whatsoever consultation or debate shall be with the commissioners of Scotland, concerning the disposal of the person of the king, shall not be understood to be any capitulation or treaty between the kingdoms, in relation to the retarding of the march of the Scottish army and forces out of England; to which our commissioners were necessitated to agree, or otherwise to have no conference at all. In the conference there were many and large debates for several days; the houses of parliament claiming the sole right and power in the disposal of the person of the King of England, and our commissioners asserting that both kingdoms had an interest in the disposal of his person, whether he were in England or Scotland, being king of both; but at length the conference broke off without any agreement. Then the houses did again begin to press the removal of the Scottish army out of England, and most of Sir Thomas Fairfax's army marched northward; complaints were renewed from the north concerning their heavy pressures, and it was suggested by the sectaries to divers members of the House of Commons, that the Scots were resolved to espouse the malignant quarrel, and intended no less than the conquest of England, which was too readily believed by many, even of those who were promoters of Presbyterian government; so much the rather, that

satisfaction being offered in the month of August by the houses touching the pay of the army, and the total sum agreed unto by the kingdom of Scotland on the 2d of September, their army notwithstanding did still continue in the kingdom of England for the space of five months, from the beginning of September until February.

The king's majesty, having stayed for a long time in the Scottish army, though at first, when he came unto them in the month of May, he seemed inclinable to give satisfaction to his parliaments of both kingdoms, particularly in the matter of religion, having, in his letter of the 18th of May, from the Scots Leagure at Southwell, heartily recommended it to his two houses of parliament to take the advice of the divines of both kingdoms assembled at Westminster, for speedy finishing that pious and necessary work; and in his letter to Scotland of the 19th of May, professed it to be his voluntary and cordial resolution to join with his parliaments in settling religion; yet, divers of the prelatical and malignant party, having secretly got access to his majesty when he was at Newcastle, he became altogether averse from giving satisfaction; and, perceiving the stedfast resolution of the Scottish army to adhere to the solemn league and covenant, for reformation and defence of religion, he proposed, in his answer to the propositions to the two houses of the parliament of England, that he might come to London, or any of his houses thereabouts, with freedom, honour, and safety, that he might further treat upon these propositions of peace presented unto him; and upon the 20th of December, he renews his desire of coming to London, or any of his houses thereabouts, for a further treaty upon the propositions: This letter coming to their hands upon the 25th of December, upon the 31st they resolve that Holmby-house, in the county of Northampton, be the place which the houses think fit for the king to come unto, there to remain with such attendants about him as both houses of parliament should appoint, with respect had to the safety and preservation of his person, in the preservation and defence of the true religion and liberties of the kingdoms, ac-

cording to the covenant; and when the king shall be at Holmby, as aforesaid, and the Scots forces gone out of the kingdom of England, the two houses of parliament declare, that then they will be ready, according to their former declarations for preserving the particular rights of the kingdom of England, to join with the kingdom of Scotland in employing their best endeavours to procure his majesty's assent to the propositions agreed on by both kingdoms, and presented to his majesty at Newcastle.

This vote both houses sent inclosed to his majesty, and also to the commissioners of this kingdom residing with his majesty at Newcastle, who forthwith transmitted the same to the parliament then sitting in Scotland, who, taking into their most serious consideration the vote of both houses, and the necessity of the speedy return of their army from England, thought it their duty once more to make their application to his majesty, before they took any resolution in relation to the disposal of his majesty's person; and accordingly they sent commissioners to his majesty again, with all earnestness and humility to desire his assent to the propositions, as that which was the only way to procure peace, and the most effectual mean to establish and continue monarchical government in his majesty's person and posterity, and that his majesty might be induced to give his assent thereunto, to remember his majesty, what were his promises when he came into the Scottish army, for following the advice of his parliaments, and to represent the many advantages of his granting the propositions, and, particularly, to give assurance in the name of the parliament, that this kingdom would most willingly sacrifice their lives and fortunes to establish his majesty on his throne, if he should grant the propositions concerning religion and the covenant, and give a satisfactory answer to the rest of the propositions; and, upon the other part, in case his majesty should refuse or delay, then to represent, that they found it not lawful for them to assist his majesty for recovering the possession of his government, his majesty not granting the propositions concerning religion and the covenant, nor giving a sa-

tisfactory answer to the rest of the propositions; that they found his majesty's coming to Scotland dangerous to the cause, to his majesty, to this kingdom, and to the union betwixt the kingdoms, and that both kingdoms would be necessitated to take a joint course for disposal of his person, until he should give a satisfactory answer to the propositions of both kingdoms. These earnest desires and offers being made to his majesty, and the dangers faithfully represented, and his majesty hearkening to the wicked counsels of those who never sought his honour and happiness, but their own particular interest, and refusing to follow the faithful advice of his parliament, upon the 16th of January 1647, the estates of parliament passed a declaration, wherein, having considered his majesty's promises when he came into the Scottish army, to follow the advice of his parliaments, his refusal to grant the propositions of both kingdoms, notwithstanding the frequent addresses of this kingdom for that purpose, his majesty's desire to be in London, or some of his houses near to his houses of parliament, and the desire of the two houses that he may come to Holmby-house, promising the safety and preservation of his royal person, in the preservation and defence of the true religion and liberties of the kingdoms, according to the covenant; they did declare their concurrence for his majesty's going to Holmby-house, or some other of his houses in or about London, there to remain until he give satisfaction to both kingdoms in the propositions of peace; and that, in the interim, there shall be no harm, prejudice, injury, or violence, done to his royal person, that there shall be no change of government other than had been for the three years preceding, and that his posterity should noways be prejudged in their lawful succession to the crown and government of these kingdoms.

Together with this declaration, they sent some desires to the parliament of England, that, when his majesty should be at Holmby, committees from both kingdoms should attend his majesty, and employ their best endeavours to procure his majesty's assent to the propositions of both kingdoms, presented to his majesty at New-

castle; and, in case the king should not give his assent thereto, that the happy union betwixt the kingdoms might be continued according to the covenant and treaties; that, according to the late treaty betwixt the kingdoms, no cessation, nor any pacification or agreement for peace whatsoever, should be made by either kingdom, or the armies of either kingdom, without the mutual advice and consent of both,—and that none should be debarred from having access to his majesty who have warrant from the parliament of Scotland, or their committees thereunto authorized, whereunto the houses of parliament did agree, and his majesty, attended by a committee of both kingdoms, did repair to Holmby-house in the month of February.

The houses of parliament who were unanimous concerning the removal of the Scottish army out of England, and the king's coming to Holmby-house, began now to differ according to the different ends which they had therein proposed unto themselves; for the whole House of Peers, very few excepted, and the far greatest part of the House of Commons, were resolved, if once the Scottish army were removed out of England, to send a considerable number of their own forces over into Ireland, to prosecute the war there, (the Lord Ormond having declared his willingness to leave the sword, and all the places under his command, to the House of Parliament,) and to keep up in England only so many forces as was necessary to preserve the kingdom from disturbance, and these under the command of such officers as had taken the covenant, and were well affected to the work of reformation; and their army being thus modelled, then to proceed to the settling of a peace with his majesty, upon his grant of the propositions for religion, and such satisfaction in matters civil as should be found necessary for the safety and security of both kingdoms. All which, these that did best understand the affairs of England, and were most opposite to the sectaries, did think the Houses of Par liament were better able to bring to pass without, than with the assistance of the Scottish army, in regard to the many jealousies both the parliament and people had of the continuing

of the Scottish army in England, the consideration whereof was one of the main reasons that moved this kingdom to withdraw their army out of England, and to agree to his majesty's going to Holmby, there being no ground to hope that the stay of their army could be longer useful in that kingdom, when both friends and foes were desirous of their removal.

Immediately after their return to this kingdom, and his majesty's going to Holmby, both houses passed an ordinance for suppressing heresies and schisms, and unwarrantable preaching; and appointed the 10th of May for a day of humiliation, because of the growth of heresies and schisms; and ordained, that no foot should be kept up in garrisons, and only five thousand four hundred horse in the field, under the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax, no other officer to be above the degree of a colonel; no member of either house to have any charge in field or garrison; that all who should be employed should take the covenant, and conform to the government of the church then established; and none who had been in arms against the parliament should have any charge, or any profane curser, swearer, drunkard, or other person who was scandalous in life and conversation; and that eight thousand four hundred foot, and two thousand four hundred horse, out of the rest of the army, should go to Ireland; two hundred thousand pounds were advanced by the city, at the desire of the houses, to be sent to the army; and such forces as were neither to be kept up in the service of England, nor would engage for Ireland, were appointed to be disbanded on the 2d of June.

The modelling and disbanding of the army being thus far advanced, his majesty, upon the 12th of May, sent an answer to the propositions of peace, wherein he did further condescend towards the granting of the desires of his parliaments than he had done formerly, upon receipt whereof the House of Peers voted, that the king should come from Holmby, near London, to his house at Oatlands, and desired herein the concurrence of the Commons.

This is a true relation of what passed from the time

of his majesty's coming to the Scottish army in the month of May 1646, to the end of May 1647. And, now, here we shall make a stand, and desire all such as have not yielded up their reason and judgment to passion and prejudice, to consider if, in all these transactions, any thing of disloyalty toward our king on the one hand, or unfaithfulness in the matter of our covenant toward the kingdom of England upon the other, can be laid to our charge. Our chief study and endeavour hath been to render unto God the things that are God's, to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to our neighbours the things that are theirs. We hope it is made clear and evident to all that will judge impartially, that there was no treaty betwixt this kingdom, their committees or armies, with the king before his coming to our army, nor after his coming, but with advice and consent of both Houses of Parliament; and that it is a malicious wicked device, and manifest untruth, that we sold our king;—we abhor the very thought of it as sincerely as we do abominate the treacherous actions of that perfidious traitor James Graham, who, as a child of the devil, hates to speak truth. Let the world judge what ground there is for this reproach which wicked men would cast upon us, that we were hired with money by England to agree, that the king should come to Holmby, when the army got only two hundred thousand pound of the arrears due unto them for a very laborious service, and as a part of the great expences they had been at by their expedition into England, for the ends of the covenant; when, also, this agreement for payment of their arrears was made, five months before the king, with consent of both kingdoms, went from Newcastle to Holmby,—yea, at that time, neither the kingdom of England nor Scotland had resolved any thing touching the disposal of the king's person, whether he should come to London, or to some of his houses near it, or stay at Newcastle, or go to Scotland; all the debates about the right and interest to dispose of the king, were subsequent to the agreement concerning the total sum due to the Scottish army; and, if there had been any transaction, public or private, be-

twixt the kingdoms in August 1646, when they agreed concerning the sums due to the Scottish army, would the kingdom of England have borne the burden of entertaining the Scottish army (being above 20,000 horse and foot) five months thereafter, to their great charge and expence? What needed all these long debates about the king in the painted chamber, betwixt the houses and the commissioners of this kingdom, in the month of October, which were also published in print? And what needed these frequent addresses of the parliament of Scotland to his majesty, in the months of November, December, and January, if all was agreed on betwixt the kingdoms in the month of August? And how inconsistent is any such agreement with the offer of the kingdom of Scotland, very few days before his removal from Newcastle, most willingly to sacrifice their lives and fortunes for establishing his majesty upon his throne, if even then he would be pleased to give a satisfactory answer to the propositions? Certainly malice itself may here stop its mouth, and forbear to lay any thing to our charge in this particular. Neither can this kingdom be justly accused of disloyalty or imprudence, in giving consent to his majesty's going to Holmby, or some of his houses about London, because of that which hath followed since; for counsels and resolutions must not be judged according to accidents and events. Who could, at that time, have foreseen, that an army raised by the parliament for their own defence, and which in profession so highly esteemed and magnified the authority of parliament, would not only disobey their orders, but also attempt such horrid things as they have since adventured upon? Surely when the Scottish army came out of England, it would have seemed not only improbable, but incredible. The kingdom of Scotland did trust his majesty's person to the honourable Houses of the Parliament of England, who were as deeply engaged by duty, oaths, covenants, and solemn profession for his majesty's preservation, as the kingdom of Scotland; and no question they would have preserved his majesty's person from all injury or violence whatsoever, had they not met with unexpected violence against their own per-

sons; for, until the army did, by the power of the sword, imprison and seclude the far greatest part of the members of the House of Commons, and make void the power of the House of Lords, they durst not attempt any thing against his majesty's person. And what wonder that we, who were strangers, could not perceive the depth of such designs, (if, at that time, there was any formed design of that kind, which we very much question,) when the Houses of Parliament did not foresee their own ruin, and his majesty himself, in the year 1647, when the propositions of both kingdoms were presented unto him again at Hampton Court, in the month of September, had such confidence in the army, as he was by them induced to believe, that their proposals did much more conduce to the satisfaction of all interests, and might be a fitter foundation for a lasting peace, than the propositions of both kingdoms then tendered unto him? And, in his answer of the 9th of September, desired the two houses to take into their consideration the army's proposals, as the best way in his judgment, in order to peace; yea, when his majesty, upon the 11th of November 1647, did retire from Hampton Court for the preservation of his person, which was in danger, as he apprehended, from the levelling party of the army, and was at liberty to have gone whither he pleased; yet so little did he fear any danger to his person from the chief leaders of the army, as he choosed the Isle of Wight rather than any other place, that he might still continue under the protection of the army, as he doth profess in his letter of the 19th of November 1647 to both Houses of Parliament.

As to the remainder of that which is said against us by that wretched man, that we complotted his late majesty's destruction, and have declared his son king with provisos, robbing him of all right, and are more perniciously hatching the destruction of his present majesty, than ever we did his royal father's; we say, no person on earth has contributed more toward his majesty's ruin than James Graham himself; and not only the searcher of hearts, and our own consciences, but all our actions and proceedings will witness for us,

that we are altogether free of the guilt of his majesty's destruction; we never flattered his majesty in any evil way, nor advised his majesty in any such courses as might beget differences betwixt him and his people; our counsels unto him always tended to his majesty's giving satisfaction to the just desires of his parliaments, which, through the Lord's blessing, might have prevented the sad and deplorable condition the royal family is now brought unto by wicked instruments, and we were still so far from complotting his majesty's destruction, as we ever freely imparted unto his majesty whatsoever prejudice or danger we feared to his person or posterity. The estates of parliament of this kingdom, when they first heard of the proceedings of the sectaries in England against his majesty, and that some pamphlets had been published there, insinuating the compliance of some in Scotland with the wicked practices there, did make strict inquiry at all the members of parliament, upon their solemn oath, whether themselves had, or they knew of any others within this kingdom that had accession unto the proceedings of the English army in relation to the king or the houses of parliament, and could not find that there was any within this kingdom had any accession thereunto, which they forthwith published in print, and caused to be made public in England also, by their commissioners before his majesty's death. And further, the commissioners of this kingdom, upon the very first motion of proceedings against the king, did, by their paper of the 6th of January 1649, represent how contrary it was to the Solemn League and Covenant, and many solemn professions and declarations of both kingdoms, and that such a thing could not but continue and increase the great distractions of these kingdoms, and involve us in many difficulties, miseries, and confusions; they also endeavoured to have access to his majesty, but could not. And when a commission was given to certain persons for his majesty's trial, they did declare, that the kingdom of Scotland did abominate and detest so horrid a design against his majesty's person, and, in the name of this kingdom, dissent from their proceedings, and

the taking away of his majesty's life; and protest, that, as the kingdom of Scotland was free from the same, they might be free from all the evils, miseries, confusions, and calamities that might follow thereupon to these distracted kingdoms. They did likewise employ their best endeavours with the Lord Fairfax and others, for the preservation of his majesty's person, though without the desired success. And in their paper of the 24th February, they did expostulate with the Commons then sitting at Westminster, for their breach of declarations, protestations, oaths, covenants, and solemn engagements, for taking away the king's life by a violent death, for their prohibiting to proclaim the Prince of Wales king of these kingdoms, and for their voting away the kingly office, and the House of Lords, and claiming to themselves the authority of a parliament. They also desired, that nothing might be done which might wrong King Charles II. in his succession, as righteous heir to the crown of these kingdoms; that his just right and title might be acknowledged, and, upon just satisfaction given, he might be received and admitted to the exercise of his government; and protested, in the name of this kingdom, against all contrary proceedings; for which paper our commissioners were put under restraint for several days, and afterwards sent to the borders of this kingdom guarded with a troop of horse, and a letter being written from the prevailing party in England to the parliament of this kingdom, to know if they would own the papers of the commissioners, they did by their answer own and approve their whole proceedings. And no sooner did they hear of his majesty's death, but the very next day the whole parliament did cause proclaim his son the prince, in the most solemn manner, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland; and with all possible expedition acquainted his majesty therewith, and afterwards dispatched away commissioners to Holland, with their humble desires to his majesty, for settling religion in purity, and his kingdoms in peace; faithfully promising and obliging themselves, upon his majesty's grant of their desires, to do all for him that could be expected of loyal subjects to

their gracious king, and particularly to contribute their best endeavours, by all lawful and necessary means, according to the covenant and the duty of faithful subjects, that his majesty might be restored to the peaceable possession of the government of his other kingdoms; and notwithstanding his majesty was not pleased then to grant our desires, but to dismiss our commissioners without satisfaction, promising a further answer by an express to be sent by his majesty to this kingdom, and although that express never yet came to us, yet we have renewed our humble and earnest desires to his majesty by another address, now presently made to his majesty in the Isle of Jersey. And whereas, it is said, we have declared him king with provisos, we desire it may be considered, that we have demanded nothing of his majesty but that which we are warranted to do by the laws of God and this kingdom, and the example of his predecessors, and which is absolutely necessary for the security of religion, and the peace of this kingdom. Our endeavour is to walk in the plain straight way, neither falling off to the malignant party, who would introduce an arbitrary and unlimited government, and give loose reins to kings to do what they please without the advice of the estates of Parliament, nor declining to the crooked paths of sectaries, who would undermine and subvert the fundamental and long established government of the kingdom, whereof our former declarations, and the late answer of the parliament, the 26th of June last, to a letter from the prevailing party in England, dated at Westminster 23d May 1649, may be a sufficient testimony. As we have received these grounds and principles concerning religion and our civil liberties from our progenitors, warranted by the word of God, and constitutions of this kingdom, so we have maintained the same without alteration these twelve years past, from the first beginning of these troubles, which were raised by our adversaries, because we would not give way to those innovations in religion and the civil government, which they had designed and projected. And though many in both kingdoms, who have joined in covenant with us,

fall away, some to the one side, and some to the other, yet it is no small encouragement for us to continue in our stedfastness, that we see very few of them that once part from the way wherein they are engaged by covenant, that can fix their foot again, until by degrees they wholly backslide and fall away, either to one extreme or the other; and so at length involve themselves in ways and courses, which not only true religion, but right reason, may justly condemn and abhor.

Having thus cleared the proceedings and transactions of this kingdom, which all along, from the very first beginning, cry aloud against this pasquiller, as an impudent liar in all that he saith against us in his declaration; we shall now speak a little concerning his wicked and disloyal carriage towards his king and country, wherein his own hand-writing and the records of parliament will, in the first place, bear witness against him.

In the beginning of our troubles, the Lord having put it into the hearts of his people of this land to renew their national covenant, formerly taken by King James in the year 1580, that dissembling hypocrite James Graham, then Earl of Montrose, did, with tears in his eyes, and both his hands lifted up to heaven, swear the words of that covenant unto the Lord in the public assembly of his people; but being a man of a mean and desperate fortune, and not meeting with that esteem and reward which he in his vanity proposed to himself, at the first pacification he began to hearken to the promises of the court, and to study a faction within, and hold correspondence with the adverse party without the kingdom, and by false information, to divide his majesty from his people. His base and treacherous practices were divers times discovered, and himself made ashamed; yet would he not give over, until at length he was made prisoner in the castle of Edinburgh, and afterward brought to his trial, before the committee for trial of plotters and incendiaries appointed by his majesty and the estates of parliament, where he was found guilty of perjury and treachery; and had he then received his due

punishment, according to justice, he had not troubled the world since; but such was the mercy and favour of his majesty, and the estates of parliament, as he was pardoned, and no further censure inflicted upon him, but that his majesty declared, and caused it to be inserted in the records of parliament, that he should be incapable of any office or place in the court or commonwealth, and not have access to his majesty's person; yet not long after his enlargement, contrary to his own promise, and the articles of the large treaty betwixt his majesty and this kingdom, he repaired to his majesty in England, and obtained a remission for invading his native country, which shortly thereafter he did attempt upon the south borders, and was repulsed; but rather than fail in his designs, he choosed to join himself with that barbarous crew of Popish Irish rebels, which invaded this kingdom upon the north, with whose assistance, and of some unnatural countrymen, void of all religion and humanity, taking advantage of the quiteness and security of this kingdom, when their armies were abroad in England and Ireland, he did cruelly destroy with the sword divers thousands of his own countrymen, spoiled many of their goods, burned houses and corns, ravished women, murdered old and young, killed ministers, complied with Papists, countenanced idolaters, and despised the worship of God; for which abominable crimes, and his rebellion and treason as he was excommunicated by the church, so he was declared traitor by the estates of parliament, his coat of arms torn, and his estate forfeited. But for all this he is not weary of committing wickedness, and, therefore, would return into this kingdom to overact all his former transgressions and abominations; but if he shall come, we trust in God, it is that he may be brought to a shameful death and cursed end, and here receive from the hand of justice his deserved punishment, where he hath murdered so many of the Lord's people, and, Julian-like, hath made apostasy from that cause and covenant, to which he was so solemnly engaged by oath and subscription.

To gain supplies abroad, and assistance at home,

this vain man doth publish this his declaration, under the name and title of lieutenant-governor and captain-general for his majesty of the kingdom of Scotland. Upon what bare pretences he did formerly obtain a commission from his late majesty, to invade this kingdom, we shall not now descant; but we are very sure that there was scarce any act his majesty could have done, that was more destructive to his own interest, or more displeasing to this kingdom, it being expressly contrary to the ties and bands betwixt king and people; and here we may justly retort upon James Graham, that he doth begin with the son upon the same score that he left with the father, for whether he hath really obtained such a commission from his majesty, or doth only abuse his name, certainly he is not capable of doing his majesty greater disservice than is held forth in that declaration. The king received our commissioners in Holland, and the parliament's letter, and treated with them: he denied that he had given any commission to James Graham, or any other, to invade this kingdom; and promised a further answer to our desires, by an express from himself, which is never yet come unto us. The strain and scope of the declaration makes the whole nation the party whom his majesty gives commission to invade and destroy; for it condemns all the proceedings of the kingdom, even at the very first beginning of these troubles, as the rebellion of an horrid and infamous faction of rebels, at first causelessly hatched against his late majesty, of glorious memory, notwithstanding they were approved by his majesty in the year 1639, at the treaty at Berwick, wherein James Graham himself was an actor and consenter. It condemns all the proceedings of this kingdom in the year 1640, notwithstanding his majesty is obliged in the large treaty, which is ratified in the parliaments of both kingdoms, for himself and his successors, by his promise *in verbo principis*, never to come in the contrary thereof, nor any thing therein contained, but to hold the same firm and stable in all points, and that he shall cause it to be truly observed by all his majesty's lieges, according to the tenor and intent thereof, for now and ever; these are the very

words of the treaty. And now what can be imagined to be a security to the subjects of this kingdom, if that which their king is solemnly engaged unto by promise, for himself and his successors, *in verbo principis*, and confirmed in the parliaments of both kingdoms, shall not only be questioned, but their desires therein agreed unto by his majesty, declared to be violent and most unjust. And all this is not enough to quarrel treaties and established laws, and to accuse the whole nation; but they are by this declaration accounted more wicked than any in England or Ireland; this miserable miscreant is better pleased with the sectaries, or the Irish rebels, than with his native country; wherein he declares his apostasy to be of such a stamp, as he can sooner reconcile with all the world than with the cause and covenant which he did once swear to maintain and defend. If he may but sit and judge, all those in the kingdom who have kept the oath of God, and made conscience of their covenant, shall be found accessory to the murder and ruin of the king; and all those who have perjured themselves, and made apostacy from the cause and covenant, as he hath done, shall be justified as the only righteous persons of the nation, as he is pleased to style them in his declaration. Neither is this the height of his insolence and ambition; but, in the frontispiece of that pamphlet, he is exalted to be governor of Scotland, as if it were a province or conquered nation, a title which our ancestors would never endure in the person of any but the king; and we trust in God it shall never take place in this nor any subsequent generations. Is it not a sad and lamentable thing, that when his majesty hath lost possession of the kingdom of England, is in little better condition for Ireland, and only Scotland is desirous to embrace him upon grant of their just desires, there should yet be such counsellors about his majesty, as would advise him no otherwise to come to his throne in Scotland but by conquest; and before the conquest be made, to declare the governor, and to chuse that governor such a one as is more generally hated, by many degrees, than any person of the nation? What greater provocations can be given than

these? or what design worse than this can be set on foot, to make his majesty and his people irreconcileable? But we know that no bounds can be set to the wickedness of this malicious man, who had rather see both king and kingdom utterly ruined, than that his own designs should fail; and, therefore, we are very unwilling to think that these things are done with his majesty's knowledge and approbation, but rather that his majesty's name is abused in that pretended declaration; or if there hath been any commission granted unto him, that it hath been surreptitiously purchased from his majesty; in which opinion we desire to rest, and shall patiently wait for his majesty's answer to our desires, now again presented to his majesty in the Isle of Jersey.

These things being duly weighed and considered by foreign princes and states, we trust that, since we have never done any injury or wrong to them, but have rather been ready to perform all friendly duties in our power, as we have had occasion and opportunity, and seeing we only desire to enjoy our religion and liberties under his majesty, according to the word of God, and the laws and constitutions of this kirk and kingdom, and are most willing, upon just satisfaction given to our desires, presented to his majesty, and published to the world in print, not only to receive his majesty, and submit to his government, but also to contribute our best endeavours, by all lawful and necessary means, according to the covenant, and the duty of faithful subjects, that his majesty may be restored to the peaceable possession of the government of his other kingdoms; they will be mindful of that common rule of justice, known by the light of nature, and confirmed by our Saviour Christ, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do so to them." And, therefore, as they would expect from us in the like case, we do expect from them, that they will neither contribute men nor monies, nor any other aid or assistance to a declared traitor, who is neither seeking his majesty's honour and happiness, nor the good of his native country, but merely to satisfy his own lusts, and ambitious ends and designs.

But, in a special manner, we do expect from all Protestant princes and states, that they will remember what

was said to Jehosophat for assisting Achab, " Shouldest thou help the ungodly, and love them that hate the Lord? therefore is wrath upon thee from the Lord." And that, as they desire to keep the communion of saints, they will forbear to give him either countenance or assistance, but look upon him as a person justly excluded from civil society for his reasonable practices, and excommunicated from the church of Christ for his abominable transgressions.

If he shall come into this kingdom, we are confident that all those in whom the sense of the fear of God, duty to the king, and affection to their native country, is not utterly decayed and extinguished, will heartily and unanimously join to resist and oppose him, and to use their best endeavours, that he may be brought to condign and exemplary punishment.

But if there shall be any found in the land so foolish, base, and treacherous, as to hearken to the vain promises, and empty professions of that scandalous, wicked, and infamous pamphlet, published under the name of " A Declaration of his Excellency James Marquis of Montrose, Lieutenant-governor, and Captain-general for his Majesty of the Kingdom of Scotland," (which, in detestation thereof, we have caused burn publicly at the cross of Edinburgh by the hand of the common hangman,) and shall aid or assist the said James Graham, in his wicked designs against religion, king, and kingdom, we do hereby declare all such as shall join or concur with him, or his adherents in arms, to be guilty of high treason, and to be punished and proceeded against, as the parliament, or their committees, shall think fit; and do further discharge all persons, of whatsoever quality or degree, to join with them in any oath, band, or association whatsoever, or to assist or supply them and their adherents, or any of them, with men, money, arms, ammunition, victual, counsel, or intelligence, or to keep any sort of correspondence, public or private, with them, or any ways to aid or countenance them, or any of them, under the pain of being esteemed as rebels, and proceeded against as the parliament, or their committees, shall think fit; and this we declare to be instead of all letters

of intercommuning. And power and warrant is hereby given to all good subjects within this kingdom, to rise in arms for opposing and suppressing all such as shall join in rebellion, as they shall be called and required thereto by the lord general, lieutenant-general, or any others having authority for that effect. And for the encouragement of all such as shall suffer in opposing or suppressing them, we do farther declare, that not only the losses and sufferings of such as shall be active in the cause against them, shall be taken in special consideration, and repaired out of the estates of such as shall join in rebellion, as aforesaid; but their service shall be rewarded, according as they shall be found to deserve. And we do ordain these presents to be printed and published at the market-cross of Edinburgh, and other ordinary places of publication needful.

A. Johnston, *Clericus Registri.*

No. XXII.

List of the Prisoners taken and killed by Colonel Strachan, when he defeated Montrose, published at Edinburgh a few days after the Battle.

Prisoners.

Lord Frendraught,
Major-general Urry,
Lieutenant-colonel Stewart,
Lieutenant-colonel Hay, brother to the Laird of Naughton,
Major Clark,
Captain Mortimer,
Routmaster Wallenson,
Peter Sans, captain of dragoons,
Captain Warden,
Captain Auchinleck,
Captain Spotiswood,
Captain Charteris,
Captain Lawson,
Captain Lieutenant Gustar,
Lieutenant Verkin,
Lieutenant Andrew Osen,
Lieutenant Robert Touch,
Ernestie Buerham,
Lawrence Van Luttenburg,
Lieut. David Drummond,
Lieutenant William Ross,
Lieutenant Drummond,
Lieutenant James Dun,
Lieut. Alexander Stewart,
Cornet Ralph Murray,
Cornet Henrick Erlach,
Cornet Daniel Bennick,
Robert Graham, ensign,

Hans Boaz, ensign,
Two quartermasters,
Six serjeants,
Fifteen corporals,
Three drummers,
Two trumpeters,
Three hundred eighty-six soldiers,
Mr Kiddie, Mr Meldrum, } ministers.

Officers killed.
Laird of Pourie Ogilvie,
Laird of Pitfoddels younger, standard-bearer,
John Douglas, brother to the Earl of Morton,
Major Lylle,
Major Biggar,
Captain Stirling,
Captain Powal,
Captain Erskine,
Captain Swan,
Captain Garioch,
Lieutenant Home.

No. XXIII.

The Last Speech of Colonel William Sibbald, intended to have been spoken by him at his Execution, 7th January 1650.

Gentlemen, I am brought this day to this place, to pay a debt to nature before it be due; and by the malice and cruelty of my merciless enemies, I am sentenced to die a traitor to my country, for endeavouring to do service for my king, on whose happiness and welfare does depend the welfare of these kingdoms; and to whom I am bound, both by the law of God and man, to perform all faithful and loyal service. And as the cause for which I suffer proclaims my loyalty, so their sentence does declare to all the world their disloyalty, and their intentions against the king.

Their self-guiltiness makes cowardly spirits cruel; and such were their proceedings against me, as that I could not obtain an advocate to plead for me, nor any man skilful in the laws, either to advise with me, or to write my defence, though they knew me to be ignorant of the laws; thus is my innocence and integrity betrayed, partly by their malice and my own ignorance.

The truth is, they did profer to do me any courtesy or

favour, if I would make an ingenuous confession, *that is*, accuse some noblemen and gentlemen of keeping correspondence with his majesty, or with the Marquis of Montrose; which, if I had done, I deserved to have been branded with perpetual infamy; for I never knew any man in this kingdom that did keep correspondence with them; neither had I commission from his majesty, or the Marquis of Montrose, to treat with any. I did indeed speak with some noblemen and gentlemen, because I was formerly obliged unto them for their love to me, and did expect from them small assistance to furnish me in my journey; but I never spake with them concerning the public affairs, any farther than the weekly gazettes made known to all the world. If these great fish could have been taken in our statesmen's nets, it might have been that such a minim as I should have escaped the bailiff of the fish-market's hands this day.

I have been from my youth a soldier; and though that calling in itself be honourable, yet men in that calling have greater occasions and provocations to sin than in any private calling. Besides, naturally my youth led me to some abominable sins, and custom in them for many years detained me captive unto them; so that I cannot but confess, that to me appertaineth shame and confusion in this life, and damnation of soul and body eternally in hell's fire, if God should deal with me according to my desert. My comfort is, that the blood of my Saviour cries louder in his ears for mercy than my sins do for vengeance; and that He who hath promised a free pardon and remission unto all penitent sinners, through faith in Jesus Christ, will purge and cleanse my soul from all uncleanness, and deliver me from all blood-guiltiness, by the blood of his Son our Saviour. The true sorrow that I find in my soul for my former sins, and that godly resolution and stedfast purpose I have to lead a new life, if it please God to continue it, together with the joy, the patience, and the courage I have to suffer, gives some assurance of this blessed hope, that, through faith in Jesus Christ my Saviour, my penitent soul, though sinful, shall be saved.

And as for my religion, I die, as I lived, a true Protestant. This religion, I thank God, as it preserved me from popish superstition, so it kept me from being seduced by the novelties of the times, and from being deluded with the wicked doctrine which is now taught by the reformers of the kirk. It was this religion which did keep my hand from your covenant; of which, in the space of some five years, you gave two interpretations quite contradictory; for in the year 1637, the assembly did affirm, as appears by our acts of parliament and assembly, that, in all causes whatsoever, you were to defend and maintain the person and dignity of your king; but in the year 1644, you limit your obedience to your king, to your religion, laws, and liberty, and make yourselves, in all differences between the king and you, both judge and party. The religion in which I was bred, taught me to give both to God and my king their due; it taught me to honour and worship God, and to expect salvation through Christ; and to live soberly, and to deal justly with all men. I ever hated that religion which made saints or angels sharers with God in worship, or men partakers with my Redeemer in the work of my redemption, or that made our Christian liberty a cloak of maliciousness: and though I, naturally inclined to evil and wicked company, drew me to most heinous and filthy sins, yet, I thank God, I hated that religion that taught impiety and wickedness, rebellion, murder, and injustice, or that approved the killing of kings, or their loyal subjects for their loyalty, as having its original rather from the devil, who was a murderer from the beginning, than from God; and I did ever esteem it more agreeable to man's sinful and corrupted nature, than to God's holy word. I have heard a learned man say that it were better to deny God to be, than to believe him to be such a one who delights in the bloody sacrifices of men and women, or to think that he is such a one who delights in cruelty and murder. The God whom we serve and worship is the Saviour of the world, the Preserver of man, the Redeemer of mankind, the Avenger of blood. I have been taught from God's word, that he hath no pleasure in wicked-

ness, neither shall any evil dwell with him; undoubtedly such bloody sacrifices cannot be pleasing or acceptable to him; for they are repugnant to his nature, and contradictory to the justice and equity of his holy law.

It is my greatest grief at this time that I did not walk according to the purity of my religion, and the holiness of God, who hath called us to the knowledge of his truth; therefore let me entreat you to pray unto God with me, and for me, that he would be pleased to pardon my many and great sins; that he would purge my soul with the blood of his Son, from the guilt and pollution of all my sins, that I may be presented unto my heavenly Father without spot or wrinkle, holy, and without blemish; that he would receive me, through the merits of my Saviour, into everlasting peace, and into the glorious estate of his chosen saints in heaven. O Lord, into thy hands I commend my soul; Lord Jesus, receive my spirit; O merciful Father, forgive my enemies, and lay not this sin to their charge. Amen.

No. XXIV.

Verses wrote by the Marquis of Montrose upon the Murder of King Charles I. with Dr Wishart's Latin translation.

GREAT, good, and just! could I but rate
My griefs to thy too rigid fate,
I'd weep the world to such a strain,
As it should deluge once again:
But since thy loud-tongu'd blood demands supplies,
More from Briareus' hands than Argus' eyes,
I'll sing thy obsequies with trumpet sounds,
And write thy epitaph with blood and wounds. *

* These verses appear set to music among "Songs for one, two, and three voices, with some short Symphonies, collected out of the Select Poems of the incomparable Mr Cowley, and others, and composed by Henry Bowman, Philo-Musicus." 2d edit. printed at Oxford, 1679.

Carole, si possem lachrymis æquare dolorem
Ipse meum fatumque tuum, tua funera flerem,
Ut tellus nitidis rursum stagnaret ab undis:
Sanguis at ille tuus, quum vocem ad sidera tollat,
Atque manus Briarei mage quam Argi lumina poscat;
Exsequias celebrabo tuas, clangore tubarum,
Et tumulo inscribam profuso sanguine carmen.

No. XXV. *

In praise of Women.

When heav'n's great Jove had made the world's round frame,
Earth, water, air, and fire; above the same
The ruling orbs, the planets, spheres, and all
The lesser creatures in the earth's vast ball:
But, as a curious alchimist still draws
From grosser mettals finer, and from those
Extracts another, and from that again
Another that doth far excel the same;

---

* The Earl of Montrose, amid his more serious vocations, contrived to find time for gallantry, and the composition of amorous verses, of which the subjoined have been preserved. Bishop Guthrie tells us, that, "when Montrose was imprisoned, (1641,) his chamber in the Canongate, where he had lodged, being, by order of the committee, searched, and no papers of correspondence with his majesty found therein, the Lord Sinclair (then more furious in the cause than afterwards) was commissionated to go to Old Montrose, the earl's chief dwelling-house, and search what he could find there to militate against him. At his coming he broke open his cabinets, but found nothing therein belonging to the public affairs, only instead thereof he found some letters from ladies to him in his younger years, flourished with Arcadian compliments, which, being divulged, would possibly have met with a favourable construction, had it not been that the hatred carried to Montrose, made them to be interpreted in the worst sense.

"The Lord Sinclair's employment having been only to search for papers of correspondence betwixt his majesty and Montrose, in reference to public affairs, he was much blamed by men of honour and gallantry for publishing those letters, but the rigid sort had him in greater esteem for it."

So fram'd he man of elements combin'd,
T' excel that substance where he was refin'd;
But that poor creature, drawn from his breast,
Excelleth him, as he excell'd the rest;
Or as a stubborn stalk, whereon there grows
A dainty lilly, or a fragrant rose,
The stalk may boast, and set its vertues forth,
But, take away the flower, where is its worth?
But yet, fair ladies, you must know
Howbeit I do adore you so;
Reciprocal your flames must prove,
Or my ambition scorns to love.
A noble soul doth still abhore
To strike, but where its conquerour.

Part First.

My dear and only love I pray
This noble world of thee,
Be governed by no other sway
But purest monarchie.
For if confusion have a part,
Which vertuous souls abhore,
And hold a synod in thy heart,
I'll never love thee more.

Like Alexander I will reign,
And I will reign alone,
My thoughts shall evermore disdain
A rival on my throne.
He either fears his fate too much,
Or his deserts are small,
That puts it not unto the touch,
To win or lose it all.

But I must rule and govern still,
And always give the law,
And have each subject at my will,
And all to stand in awe.
But 'gainst my battery if I find
Thou shun'st the prize so sore,

As that thou set'st me up a blind,
I'll never love thee more.

Or in the empire of thy heart,
Where I should solely be,
Another do pretend a part,
And dares to vie with me,
Or if committees thou erect,
And goes on such a score,
I'll sing and laugh at thy neglect,
And never love thee more.

But if thou wilt be constant then,
And faithful of thy word,
I'll make thee glorious by my pen,
And famous by my sword.
I'll serve thee in such noble ways
Was never heard before;
I'll crown and deck thee all with bays,
And love thee evermore.

Part Second.

My dear and only love, take heed,
Lest thou thy self expose,
And let all longing lovers feed
Upon such looks as those.
A marble wall then build about,
Beset without a door;
But if thou let thy heart fly out,
I'll never love thee more.

Let not their oaths, like vollies shot,
Make any breach at all;
Nor smoothness of their language plot
Which way to scale the wall;
Nor balls of wild-fire love consume
The shrine which I adore;
For if such smoak about thee fume,
I'll never love thee more.

I think thy virtues be too strong
To suffer by surprise;
Which victual'd by my love so long,
The siege at length must rise,
And leave thee ruled in that health
And state thou was before;
But if thou turn a common-wealth
I'll never love thee more.

But if by fraud, or by consent,
Thy heart to ruine come,
I'll sound no trumpet as I wont,
Nor march by tuck of drum;
But hold my arms, like ensigns, up,
Thy falsehood to deplore,
And bitterly will sigh and weep,
And never love thee more.

I'll do with thee as Nero did,
When Rome was set on fire,
Not only all relief forbid,
But to a hill retire,
And scorn to shed a tear to see
Thy spirit grown so poor;
But smiling, sing until I die,
I'll never love thee more.

Yet for the love I bare thee once,
Lest that thy name should die,
A monument of marble-stone
The truth shall testifie;
That every pilgrim passing by,
May pity and deplore
My case, and read the reason why
I can love thee no more.

The golden laws of love shall be
Upon this pillar hung,
A simple heart, a single eye,
A true and constant tongue.
Let no man for more love pretend
Than he has hearts in store:

True love begun shall never end;
Love one and love no more.

Then shall thy heart be set by mine,
But in far different case;
For mine was true, so was not thine,
But lookt like Janus' face.
For as the waves with every wind,
So sails thou every shore,
And leaves my constant heart behind.
How can I love thee more?

My heart shall with the sun be fix'd
For constancy most strange,
And thine shall with the moon be mix'd,
Delighting ay in change.
Thy beauty shin'd at first most bright,
And woe is me therefore,
That ever I found thy love so light,
I could love thee no more.

The misty mountains, smoaking lakes,
The rocks resounding echo;
The whistling wind that murmur makes,
Shall with me sing hey ho.
The tossing seas, the tumbling boats,
Tears droping from each shore,
Shall tune with me their turtle notes,
I'll never love thee more.

As doth the turtle chaste and true
Her fellow's death regrete,
And daily mourns for his adieu,
And ne'er renews her mate;
So though thy faith was never fast,
Which grieves me wond'rous sore,
Yet I shall live in love so chast,
That I shall love no more.

And when all gallants rides about
These monuments to view,

Whereon is written in and out,
Thou traiterous and untrue;
Then in a passion they shall pause,
And thus say, sighing sore,
Alas! he had too just a cause
Never to love thee more.

And when that tracing goddess fame
From east to west shall flee,
She shall record it to thy shame,
How thou hast loved me;
And how in odds our love was such,
As few has been before;
Thou loved too many, and I too much,
That I can love no more.

THERE's nothing in this world can prove
So true and real pleasure,
As perfect sympathy in love,
Which is a real treasure.

The purest strain of perfect love
In vertue's dye and season,
Is that whose influence doth move,
And doth convince our reason.

Designs attend, desires give place,
Hopes had no more availeth;
The cause remov'd the effect doth cease,
Flames not maintain'd soon faileth.

The conquest then of richest hearts,
Well lodg'd and trim'd by nature,
Is that which true content imparts,
Where worth is join'd with feature.

Fill'd with sweet hope then must I still
Love what's to be admired;
When frowning aspects cross the will,
Desires are more endeared.

Unhappy then unhappy I,
To joy in tragick pleasure,
And in so dear and desperate way
T'abound yet have no treasure.

Yet will I not of fate despair,
Time oft in end relieveth,
But hopes my star will change her air,
And joy where now she grieveth.

Burst out my soul in main of tears,
And thou my heart sighs tempest move,
My tongue let never plaints forbear,
But murmure still my crossed love;
Combine together all in one,
And thunder forth my tragick moan.

But, tush, poor drop, cut breath, broke air,
Can you my passions express?
No: rather but augment my care,
In making them appear the less.
Seeing but from small woes words do come,
And great ones they sing always dumb.

My swelling griefs then bend your self
This fatal breast of mine to fill,
The center where all sorrows dwell,
The limbeck where all griefs distil,
That silent thus in plaints I may
Consume and melt my self away.

Yet that I may contented die,
I only wish, before my death,
Transparent that my breast may be,
E're that I do expire my breath;
Since sighs, tears, plaints, express no smart,
It might be seen into my heart.

Can little beasts with lions roar,
And little birds with eagles soar?

Can shallow streams command the seas,
And little aunts the humming bees?

No, no, no, no, it is not meet
The head should stoup unto the feet.

———

On False Friends, a Poem by Montrose.

Unhappy is the man
In whose breast is confin'd
The sorrows and distresses all
Of an afflicted mind.
Th' extremity is great,
He dies if he conceal;
The world's so void of secret friends,
Betray'd if he reveal.
Then break afflicted heart!
And live not in these days,
When all prove merchants of their faith,
None trusts what other says.
For when the sun doth shine,
Then shadows do appear;
But when the sun doth hide his face,
They with the sun retire.
Some friends as shadows are,
And fortune as the sun;
They never proffer any help
Till fortune first begin.
But if, in any case,
Fortune shall first decay,
Then they, as shadows of the sun,
With fortune run away.

No. XXVI.

Verses wrote by the Marquis of Montrose, with the point of a diamond, upon the glass window of his prison, after receiving his sentence.

Let them bestow on every airth a limb,
Then open all my veins, that I may swim
To thee, my Maker, in that crimson lake,
Then place my par-boil'd head upon a stake;
Scatter my ashes, strow them in the air.
Lord, since thou knowest where all these atoms are,
I'm hopeful thou'lt recover once my dust,
And confident thou'lt raise me with the just.

No. XXVII.

Extract from the Mercurius Caledonius.

Edinburgh, Monday, January 7, 1661.

This day, in obedience to the order of parliament, this city was alarmed with drums, and nine trumpets, to go in their best equipage and arms for transporting the dismembered bodies of his excellency the Lord Marquesse of Montrose, and that renowned gentleman Sir William Hay of Dalgety, murthered both for their prowes and transcending loyalty to king and country, whose bodies, to their glory and their enemie's shame, had been ignominiously thurst in the earth, under the publike gibbet half a mile from town. That of the Lord Marquesse was indeed intended for ignominy to his high name, but that of the other, ambitiously covet by himself as the greatest honour he could have, when being incapable to serve his majesty longer, to engrave nigh his great patron, which doubtlesse proceeded from a faith typical of a more glorious one. The ceremony was thus performed:—The Lord Marquesse of Montrose, with his friends of the name of Graham, the whole nobility and gentry, with provest, baillies, and councel, together with four companies of the trained bands of the city, went to the place, where having chanced directly

(however possibly persons might have been present able to demonstrate) on the same trunk, as evidently appeared by the coffin, which had been formerly broke a purpose by some of his friends in that place nigh his chest, whence they stole his heart, embalmed it in the costliest manner, and so reserves it. As also by the trunk itself found without the scull, and limbs distracted in the four chief towns of the nation; but these through the industry and respect of friends carried to the martyre, are soon to welcome the rest. That other of Sir William Hay of Delgety, was as surely pluckt forth, lying next to that of his excellency. The noble Lord Marquesse and his friends took care that these ruins were decently wrapt in the finest linnen; so did likewise the friends of the other, and so incoffined suitable to their respectful dignities.

The trunck of his excellency thus coffined, was covered with a large and rich black velvet cloath, taken up and from thence carried by the noble Earls of Marre, Athol, Linlithgow, Seaford, Hartfield, and others of these honourable families; the Lord Marquesse himself, his brother Lord Robert, and Sir John Calquhoun, nephew to the deceased Lord Marquesse, supporting the head of the coffin, and all under a very large pale, or canopy, supported by the noble Viscount of Stormond, the Lords Stranaver, Fleeming, Drumlanerick, Ramsay, Matherty, and Rollock. Being accompanied with a body of horse of nobility and gentry, to the number of 200, rallied in decent order by the Viscount of Kenmure, they came to the place where the head stood, under which they set the coffin of the trunk on a scaffold made for that purpose, till the Lord Naper, the Barons of Morphy, Inchbrakie, Urchell, and Gorthy, and severall other noble gentlemen placed on a scaffold next to the head, (and that on the top of the town's tolbooth, six story high,) with sound of trumpet, discharge of many canon from the castle, and the honest people's loud and joyful acclamation, all was joyned and crowned with the crown of a marquesse, conveyed with all honour befitting such an action to the abbay church of Holyroodhouse, a place of buriall frequent to our kings, there to

continue in state, untill the noble lord his son be ready for the more magnificent solemnization of his funerals.

All our solemnities, both that of the high commissioner's reception, that of riding the parliament, and this great honour done to the memory of the grand examplar of loyalty his excellency the Marquesse of Montrose, was accompanied with infinite acclamations of the people; great volleys of shot by the city companies, and thundering of canon from the castle. It's many years since those sparks of loyalty has been smothered by the ashes of tyranny. It's true, though a considerable part of our nation were the first that transgressed upon their duty, yet they never reached the length of a boundlesse disobedience, for they no sooner discovered the depth of the treason wherein their rebelious confederates in England would have ensnared them, but they presently faced about to their allegiance, and it is well known to the world, that, since the year 1648, there was never a people enterprised such honourable and probable wayes to redeem former escapes then we did; and though it was the pleasure of providence to disappoint our designs, yet we never grudged neither at our imprisonments, the losse of the dearest of our blood, nor devastation of our fortunes; and which is our grand comfort, we have attained so much knowledge as never again to be juggled out of our reason, under the notion of spacious pretences; for the drowsiest clown of our most northern islands can with contempt smile at the cheats of liberty, and the good old cause. And, therefore, the blasphemers, rumpers, and other antimonarchicall vermin in England must cast about some where else then for companions in Scotland.

No. XXVIII.

A Relation of the True Funerals of the Great Lord Marquesse of Montrose, his Majestie's Lord High Commissioner, and Captain General of his Forces in Scotland. With that of the renowned Knight Sir William Hay of Delgity.

God Almighty's justice and revenge of murder is so frequently recorded by many famous historians, that no-

thing shall be said here on that theme in general, lest I should grate on some, who, though subtile, hath been surprised in their subtilty, while they divested themseves of Christian maxims, to raise themselves through humane policy by the ruin of the most eminent, and yet that their promised stability hath been overturned, and their cut out ways damped and overclouded with abysses and darkness. The briquals and returns of Providence of this nature, discovered in our late unnatural civil war, are testimonies sufficient to convince and confound the most peremptory atheist of the eternal and immortal deity, that will suffer no wickedness (under what specious pretences soever, of reformation or good cause) to pass unpunished. I shall not mention these ambitious spirits who grounded their proper advancement by overthrowing religion and law; how, I say, some of them vagabonds are exposed to shame and deserved obloquy. But the divine Providence teacheth us to make this difference, that when virtue and loyalty hath groaned and suffered under tyranny and oppression, in the end they have been crowned with fame and admiration, as our dread sovereign and noble Parliament would have it witnessed in the celebration of the great Marquis of Montrose's funerals, in the highest and magnificent grandeur, to counterbalance the height of malicious invention exercised on him to the full. The particulars of the honourable ceremonies will, in true and exquisite heraldry, display the several dignities he had, either as a peer of the land, or charged with his majesty's service; so, in a proportionable manner, we shall shew the honour done to the memory of that renowned colonel, Sir William Hay of Delgity, who, suffering martyrdom with him in the same cause, ambitioned his funeral under the same infamous gibbet, prophetically certainly, that he might participate with him the same honour at his first bodily resurrection. This his request was easily assented to by these monstrous leeches, whose greatest glory was to be drunk and riot in the blood of the most faithful subjects. Nay, even some of those whose profession should have preached mercy, belched out that the "Good work went bonnily on," when the scaffold, or rather shambles, at the cross of Edinburgh, for the space of six weeks, was

daily smoking with the blood of the most valiant and loyal subjects. But we proceed to the funeral pomp, hoping that these glorious martyrs are praising and glorifying God, while we are amusing ourselves in this scantling transitory following description: From the abbey church of Holyroodhouse to that of St Giles in the high town, the funeral pomp was as followeth:

Two conductors in mourning, with black staves.

Twenty-five poor in gowns, hoods, the first of which went alone next to the conductors carrying a gumpheon, the other twenty-four following two and two, carrying the arms of the house on long staves.

An open trumpet clothed in rich livery of the marquis colours, carrying his arms on his banner.

Sir Harie Graham in complete armour, on horseback, carrying on the point of a lance the colours of the house: this noble gentleman accompanied his excellence in all his good and bad fortunes, both at home and abroad.

Servants of friends in mourning two and two.

The great pincel, with his arms carried by John Graham of Douchrie, a renowned Highland Hector, and one who stuck peremptorily to the present Marquis of Montrose in the last expedition under his Grace the Lord Commissioner; he is best known by the title of Tetrach of Aberfoil.

The great standard in colours, with his arms, carried by Thomas Graham of Potento, a hopeful cadet of the ancient family of Clarisse.

An horse of war, with great saddle and pistols, led by two lacqueys in livery.

The defunct's servants, two and two in mourning.

An horse in state, with a rich footmantle, two lacqueys in rich livery, and his parliament badges.

Four close trumpets in mourning, carrying the defunct's arms on their banners.

The great gumpheon of black taffety carried on the point of a lance, by William Graham, younger of Duntrum, another sprightful cadet of the house of Clarisse.

The great pincel of mourning carried by George Grahame, younger of Cairme, who, from his first entry to manhood, accompanied his chief in the wars.

The defunct's friends, two and two, in mourning.

The great mourning banner carried by George Graham of Inchbrakie, younger, whose youthhead only excused him from running the risks of his father.

The spurs carried on the point of a lance by Walter Graham, elder of Duntrun, a most honest royalist, and highly commended for his hospitality.

The gauntlets carried by George Graham of Drums, on the point of a lance, a worthy person well becoming his name.

The head piece by Mungo Graham of Gorthie, on the point of a lance, whose father had sometimes the honour to carry his majesty's standard under his excellency; his great sufferings and forfeiture is enough to speak his action and honesty.

The corslet by George Graham of Monzie on the point of a lance, a brave young gentleman, whose father fell in his majesty's service under the defunct.

A banner all in mourning, by John Grahame of Balgowne, who likewise hazarded both life and fortune with his chief.

The lord provost, bailies, and burgesses of Edinburgh, two and two, all in deep mourning.

The burgesses members of parliament in mourning, two and two.

The barons members of parliament, two and two, in mourning.

The nobles in mourning, two and two.

Next followed the eight branches, first of the mother's side.

Halyburton Lord Dirleton, carried by William Halyburton of Pittergask.

Douglass Earl of Angus, by Sir Robert Douglass of Blackerstoun, a most worthy person, and great sufferer for his constant adherence to his majesty's interest.

Stuart Lord Methven, by Stuart Sheriff of Bute; it is to no purpose to commend their loyalty, or to doubt of it, when the relations of their predecessors to his majesty's progenitors is considered.

Ruthven of Gowrie, by William Ruthven Baron of Gairnes, a gentleman of clear repute and honesty, suitable

to his noble and valiant cousin the Earl of Forth and Brandford.

Next on the father's side,

Keith Earl of Marshal, by Colonel George Keith, brother to the said earl, a noble gentleman, whose behaviour in his majesty's service discovered him a worthy inheritor of his illustrious progenitors.

Fleming Earl of Wigtoun, by Sir Robert Fleming, son to the said aerl, a gallant soul, carved out for his king and country's service, as are all his family, witness his noble uncle Sir William Fleming.

Drummond Earl of Perth, by Sir James Drummond of Machiny, one whose fidelity to king and country was never brought in question.

Grahame Marquis of Montrose, by James Grahame, Baron of Orchell, whose life and fortune never caused him scruple to advance the royal interest.

The arms of the defunct in mourning, by James Graham of Bucklevy, son to the Baron of Fentry, a gentleman which nothing could ever startle from his majesty's service, and that he was a favourite of the deceased, and accompanied his son in the late Highland war, is sufficient to speak his praises.

An horse in close mourning, led by two lacqueys in mourning.

Four close trumpets in mourning, with the defunct's arms on their banners.

Six pursuivants in mourning, with their coats displayed, two and two.

Six heralds with their coats, as followeth :

The first carrying an antic shield, with the defunct's arms on it.

The second carrying his crest.

The third his sword.

The fourth his targe.

The fifth the scroll and motto.

The sixth his helmet.

Two secretaries, Master William Ord, and Master Thomas Seintserf.

Then Doctor Middleton and his chaplain.

His parliament robes carried by James Graham of

Killern, a gentleman whose merit, besides his birth, procured this noble employment.

The general's baton, by Robert Grahame, elder of Cairnie, a brave and bold gentleman, who, from the beginning of his chief's enterprises, never abandoned him, and one whose fortune endured all the mischiefs of fire and devastation.

The Order of the Garter by Patrick Graham, Baron of Inchbrakie, elder, a person most eminent for his services upon all occasions, and the only companion of the defunct when he went first to Athol, and published his majesty's commission.

The marquis's crown carried by Sir Robert Graham of Morphie, younger, a noble person, no less renowned for his affection to royalty, than for his kindness and hospitality amongst his neighbour gentry.

The purse carried by David Graham of Fentrie; this noble gentleman's predecessor was the son of the Lord Graham, then head of the house of Montrose, who, upon a second marriage on King James the First his sister, begot the first Baron of Fentry, which, in a male line, hath continued to this baron; and, as their births was high, so their qualifications hath in every respect been great, for in all ages since their rise, nothing unbecoming loyal subjects, or persons of honour, could be laid to their charge, and he who possesseth it now can claim as large a share as any of his ancestors.

Next before the corps went Sir Alexander Durham, Lion King of Arms, with his majesty's coat displayed, carrying in his hand the defunct's coat of honour.

The corps was carried by fourteen earls; viz.

The Earls of Mar, Morton, Eglinton, Caithness, Winton, Linlithgow, Home, Tillibardin, Roxburgh, Seaforth, Kallender, Annandale, Dundie, Aboyn.

The pale above the corps was likewise sustained by twelve noblemen, viz., the Viscounts of Stormont, Arbuthnot, Kingstone, the Lords Stranaver, Kilmaurs, Montgomery, Coldinghame, Fleming, Gask, Drumlanerick, Sinclar, Mackdonald.

Gentlemen appointed for relieving of those who carried the coffin under the pale.

Earls sons, Sir John Keith, Knight Marshal, Robert Gordon, Alexander Livingstoun, Sir David Ogilvie, the Barons of Pitcurr, Powrie, Fotheringhame, Cromlis, Abercairny, Ludwharne, Denholm, Mackintosh, Balmedie, Glorat, Cahoun, Braco, Craigie, Morphie, Bandoch, elder and younger, and the ingenious Baron of Mmorgan, and John Graham of Creekie, who likewise accompanied the Lord Marquis in his travels in France and Italy.

Next to the corps went the Marquis of Montrose and his brother as chief mourners, in hoods and long robes carried up by two pages, with a gentleman bare-headed on every side.

Next to him followed nine of the nearest in blood, three and three, in hoods and long robes, carried up by pages ; viz.

The Marquis of Douglass, the Earls of Marshall, Wigtoun, Southesk, Lords of Drummond, Matherti, Napier, Rollo, and Baron of Luz, nephew to the defunct.

Next to the deep mourners went my Lord Commissioner, his Grace in an open coach and six horses, all in deep mourning ; six gentlemen of quality going on every side of the coach in deep mourning, bare-headed.

The Corps of Sir William Hay of Delgity followed in this order.

Captain George Hay, son to Sir John Hay, late Clerk Register, carried the standard of honour.

William Fergnson of Badyfarrow the gumpheon.

Master John Hay the pinsel of honour.

Alexander Hay the spurs and sword of honour.

Master Harie Hay the croslet.

Master Andrew Hay the gauntlets.

Next followed his four branches.

Hay,—House of Arrol, carried by Alexander Hay.

Lesly,—House of Bonwhoyn, by George Lesly of Chapleton.

Forbes,—of the house of Forbes by Forbes of Lesly.

Hay,—Of Delgity, by Robert Hay of Perk.

Two close trumpets in mourning.

Then the corpse garnished with scutcheons and epitaphs, attended by the Earl of Errol, Lord High Constable of Scotland, the Earls of Buchan, Tuadall, Dumfries, Kinghorn, the Viscount of Frendraught, the Lords Ray, Fraser, Foster, Master Robert Hay of Dronlaw, George Hay of Kininmonth, with a multitude of the name of Hay, and other relations.

As the good town of Edinburgh was never wanting to the celebration of loyal solemnities, so they appeared highly magnificent in this, for their trained bands in gallant order ranged both sides of the street betwixt the two churches, and, as the corpse of the great Montrose was laying in the grave of his grandfather, who was viceroy, they did nothing but fire excellent vollies of shot, which was answered with thundering of cannon from the castle; the same was done to the Baron of Delgity as he was interring by his general's side. There was two things remarkable, the one, that, before the beginning of the solemnity, there was nothing but stormy rains, but the corpses no sooner came out, but fair weather, with the countenance of the sun, appeared, and continued till all was finished, and then the clouds returned to their frowns, and the storm begun afresh. The other, it was observed, that the friends of both the deceased had wedding countenances, and their enemies were howling in dark corners like howlets. Some say that there was then a kind of collective body, or sort of spiritual judicatory in town, that would not be present at the funeral, lest the bones of both should bleed.

Never funeral pomp was celebrated with so great jollity, neither was it any wonder, since we now enjoy a king, laws, liberty, religion, which was the only cause that the deceased did so bravely fight for, and who would not be good subjects, since there is so great honour paid to their memories, when we see traitors for their villany has their carcases raised and hung upon gibbets, as was the late Cromwell and others. All that belonged to the body of this great hero was carefully recollected, only his heart, which, two days after the murder, in spite of the

traitors, was, by the conveyance of some adventurous spirits appointed by that noble and honourable lady, the Lady Napier, taken out and embalmed in the most costly manner by that skilful chirurgeon and apothecary Mr James Callender, then put in a rich box of gold, and sent by the same noble lady to the now Lord Marquis, who was then in Flanders.

The solemnities being ended, the Lord Commissioner, with the nobility and barons, had a most sumptuous supper and banquet at the Marquis of Montrose's house, with concerts of all sort of music.*

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* The following account of the Marquis's funeral is printed from an original MS.

The Order of Montroises Funerallis, whois corpes was caried from the Abbay Church of Holieroodhous, to the Great Church of Edin. on Setterday the 11th of Maij, 1661.

In first, ther was out of Edin., Wast Port, Potera, out of Leith, Leith Wynd, and Cannogait, 26 companies of foot, all in good kippage, and weal armed, drawn up in the Abbay clos; the whole streettis from the Abbay gait, set in both sydes with some of the said companies, to the Mercat Cros of Edin. The rest of the said companies marched thro' the middle of the streit, till they cam to the Mercat Cros, and their drew up in bodies upon both sydis of the streettis, and thereafter the king's loveguard being likewayis drawin up in the Abbay clos, marched up the streettis nist the foot companies in good order with trumpettis and drawin swordis, and marched the length of the Lane Mercat, where the drawin up and stood in order.

All the bellis of Edin. and Cannogait ringing all the whyle, with the great common bell jowing and tolling.

The two conducteris in mourning, with ane grumpheon and 24 salia in long gounis and blak coattis.

Ane open trumpet cloathed in liveray, with the culleris of the defunct at his baner.

Ane gentilman in compleat armor, with ane plum of featheris in his helmet of the culloris of the defunctis paternall culloris.

Servantis of friendis, 2 and 2 in murning.

Johne Grahame of Deucharie caried the great pinsell of honor, with ittis full atchievement.

Thomas Grahame of Potento caried the great standart of honor with ittis full atchievement.

Ane horse mounted with ane great sadle, pistollis, and other things fit for service, led by a lekay in livery.

His particular servandis 2 and 2 in mourning.

Nothing here was wanting for completing the solemnities but the good old custom of a sermon, which (in re-

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His Parliament horse, with rich foot mantle, led by two lekayis in livery, and badges on bak and breast.

The four trumpettis in mourning, carying the arms of the defunct on both sydis.

William Grahame of Duntroone, younger, caried the great grumpheon on the point of ane lance.

George Grahame, younger of Cairnie, caried the mourning pinsell.

His friendis 2 and 2 in mourning.

Walter Grahame of Duntroone caried the spurris.

Alexander Grahame of Dreanie caried the gantlettis.

George Grahame of Monzie caried the corslait bak and breast.

Mungo Grahame of Gorthie caried the head peece.

Johne Grahame of Balgowne caried the great mourning banner, with ittis whole atchivement.

Eight gentilmen caried the eight branches, viz. William Halyburton of Buttergask for Dirletoun, Sir Robert Douglas of Blakerstoun for Douglas and Angus, Stewart of Boot, for Stewart, Lord ———, William Ruthven of Gairne, Colonel George Keith for the hous of Marschall, Sir Robert Flemyng for the hous of Wigton, Sir James Drummond of Machany for the hous of Pearth, James Grahame of Urchile for the hous of Montrose.

Capt. James Grahame of Bucklyvie caried the defunctis armis in blak taffatie, which was the murning baner.

Ane horse in mourning led by two lekayis in murning.

Nist 4 trumpettis in murning, having the defunctis armis at their baneris.

Nist them six pursuivants in order two and two.

Nist them six heraldis, the first caryin' an antique schield with the defunctis armis theiron, another carying his creist, another his sword, another his targe, another his scroll and diton, and ane other careing his helmet.

Mr William Ord and Thomas Sydserff secretaries.

Mr John Laine cheaplaine, Doctor George Midletoun, phisitian.

James Grahame of Killearnie caried the Parliament robes.

Robert Grahame of Cairnie, elder, caried the order of the garter.

Grahame of Morphie caried the crown.

Grahame of Fintrie caried the purse with the commission.

The defunctis coat of armes, caried by the Lyon King at Arms in murning.

Twell noblemen caried the pall, viz. Viscounts Stormont, Arbuthnot, and Kingstoun. Lordis Stranaver, Kilmauris, Montgomerie, Coldinghame, and Fleming, Gask, Drumlanerick, Sinclair, Macdonald.

For careing the corpis under the pale, the Earles of Mar, Mortone,

gard of the true and excellent character of the great Montrose, given by that learned and ever loyal Doctor George Wishart in his book *De Rebus Montis ros,* &c.) was the more easily dispensed with, and, indeed, it is a sufficient

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Atholl, Eglintoune, Caithnes, Linlithgow, Home, Roxburgh, Tullibardine, Seaforth, Callender, Annandaill, Dundie, and Aboyine.

Barronis of qualitie to waitt on both sydis of the pale, for relieving the noblemen, viz. Sir John Keith, knight marschall, Robert Gordon, sone to the Earle of Sutherland, Mr Livingstoune, brother to the Earle of Linlithgow, Sir David Ogilvie, sone to the Earle of Airlie, the Lairds of Pitcur, Purie, Cromlis, Abercairnie, Ludwhairne, Macintosh, Gloret, Allexander, Colhoun, Balmedie, Strowane.

The chieff murneris with hoods and long robes caried by pages, with ane gentilman bairheidat on everie syd, and nyn of the nearest noblemen in the samyn habits, marched thrie and thrie, viz. Marquis of Douglas, Earles of Marshall, Wigtoun, Southesk, the Lordis Drummond, Madertie, Naper, Rollo, and the Laird of Lus.

It was forgot, that just after the king's loveguard was the whole magistrates and town councell of Edin. all in murning, marchelled in comlie order.

At the lifting of the corpis out of the Abbay Kirk, the haill cannon of the castill, the haill foot companies of Edin., Leith, and Cannogait, with the king's loveguard, gave all fyr at ane with taking of drumis, sound of trumpettis, and ringing of bellis, and at the ingoing of the church, the second voley, and the third at his interring.

Just after the pale was the Commissioner, his Grace in his coatch, and horses, coatch and all in murning, the coatch being all open, but four stoupis that caried on the cover of it.

And after the commissioner's coatch was the corpis of Dagitee, with all his honors caried before him, and many noblemen and gentlemen about the corpis.

It was a gallant fair, sooneshine day, ay quile the corpis was interred, and long after.

Thair was twa great thingis remarkit at this heroickis funerall. The first is, that it was never hard tell of since the world began, bot at the burial of any defunct, the friendis murned, and the enemies rejoiced, but heir the just contrair, at this heroick's funerall the friendis rejoiced and the enemies murned, ane paradox indeed.

The second it was marked, that from the Abbay gait to the Luckinboothis, thair was neither stair, balconie, window, nor schot, bot thair was faces looking out at them to see this heroick sight, bot onlie on, quhich was the balconie and window of the Ladie Hoomis hous, quhair all the world sayis that * * * was contryved, for ther was no creater on that balconie, nor looking out of theas windows."

monument to perpetrate his memory to eternity. However, because the book is in the language of the Beast, which haply some will scruple at, and many not understand for their satisfaction, I have glanced at the characters of these two noble and crowned martyrs. And, first, It is known that he is head and chief of that most ancient and famous family of Grahams, called in our old Scots language, the Great Græm. The rise of the race is from that Græm so famous in history, father-in-law to Fergus the Second, King of Scotland, from whom he received lands for his signal service in demolishing the *vallum severi*, which to this day is known by the name of Græm's Dike, and is still in possession of the noble Marquis of Montrose. If the heroic actions of this late martyr could be more splendid by these of his ancestors, we could mention the valiant Graham, who so often baffled the Danes then masters of England, and Sir John the Graham, who gave so much trouble to Edward King of England, who took occasion of the difference twixt the Bruce and Baliol to invade our country's liberties. But these and many others of that ancient race I pass to hasten to our martyr, only this, his grandfather's memory is yet fresh for his great services to king and country, both as Lord High Chancellor of Scotland, and viceroy of this kingdom, his father likewise for his singular eminences, both of body and mind, inferior to none, who, after he had acquit himself most honourably of several royal ambassages, was, to the great loss of his country, taken away by untimely death. But to pass much which might be said of the fame of his progenitors, I shall acquaint you with both I know myself (having followed him several years in his expeditions) and what I have learned from others of good name and credit. He was of a middle stature, and most exquisitely proportioned limbs, his hair of a light chesnut, his complexion betwixt pale and ruddy, his eye most penetrating, though inclining to gray, his nose rather aquilin than otherwise; as he was strong of body and limbs, so was he most agil, which made him excel most of others in those exercises where these two are required. In riding the great horse and making use of his

arms, he came short of none. I never heard much of his delight in dancing, though his countenance and other his bodily endowments were equally fitting the court as the camp. In his younger days he travelled France and Italy, where he made it his work to pick up the best of their qualities, necessary for a person of honour, having rendered himself perfect in the academies. His next delight was to improve his intellectuals, which he did by allotting a proportionable time to reading, and conversing with learned men, yet still so, that he used his exercise as he might not forget it; he studied as much of the mathematics as is required for a soldier; but his great study was to read men, and the actions of great men; thus he spent three years in France and Italy, and had surveyed the rarities of the east. If his domestic affairs had not obliged his return home, which chanced at that time the late rebellion began to peep out, the conspirators knowing his great abilities, and the great esteem he had amongst the people, sought by all means to ensare him with themselves, and so wrought in him a discontent, that, notwithstanding his grandfather's, his father's eminent services, together with his own merits so highly deserving, yet he had not the honour of being counsellor. Besides, they knowing how good a patriot he was, they left not that string untouched by persuading that his majesty intended to provinciate us, and to introduce popery, with which and the like cunning forgeries born in upon him by some setting, &c. kept a purpose for that use; they got him associated in the cabal, but his generous soul soon after his engagements smoaked out their hypocrisies and rotten enterprises; and from that time, which was in the latter end of anno 1639, he abandoned them and faced about to his allegiance, resolving to sacrifice all was precious to him in his majesty's service; and, accordingly, discovered all the engines of the plot, the many circumstances of which must be left to the historians of the time. In the end of the year 1643, when a great party of our nation had been involved against the king in England, he, with the help of a thousand Irish, gave opportunity to the royalty party to bestir themselves and join with him, with whom he established an army more consisting in the

valour than number of persons, as was seen in a year's space, in which he clearly gained six battles, where there fell 20,000 of the rebels. In the management of this service, though he had never been bred a soldier, yet he shewed admirable knowledge in the art of war; and though he never confined himself to the practice of other nations, yet he never did any thing but with strong reason, his stratagems seldom missing of being successful; his vigilance and toil were wonderful, that the enemy knew not where he was till he was on them, and he again never ignorant of their place, strength, and condition. His fight was still on the plains, though the hills were advantageous to him; his cavalry, not being the fourth part of the enemies, but all of gentlemen, particularly of these noble families of Gordons and Ogilvy. He shewed greatest cheerfulness in his greatest extremities. If his infantry at any time scrupled the wading of little rivers, he was the first dismounted to shew others the way, and this banished all repining. He accustomed himself to coarse feeding and constant drinking of water, he knew they were still to be found, so that the want of delicacies should be no tentation to him to weary of the service. He had many opportunities of large sums of money, but shunned the making use of them, knowing he could never enjoy both their hearts and purses, ever inculcating to them that his majesty demanded nothing but the performance of their duty in point of allegiance. Indeed, the propagators of the *good cause* had a religious way to enrich themselves, by flaying to the very skin the royal party, whom they termed Egyptians. It was wonderful with what dexterity he kept his army entire without pay or plunder, which his behaviour did strangely undeceive the people, that neither his majesty nor his followers were such heathens as they were held out to them by their black mouthed juries. Nay, he was most happy in restoring fanatical enemies to their wits, either by convincing them of their erroneous course, or persuading them to join with him, and this was according to one of his own principles, viz. That a person in public employment should rather court the people for his prince's interest, than his prince for his own. If this rule were exactly followed by all favourites, it would smoother

all dangerous heart-burnings, and contribute highly to secure the people's affections to their king. His vast knowledge in military and state affairs was admirable; he was pleasant and witty in conversation, with an affability in private becoming a comrade; scandalous and obscene wit durst not appear before him. In this sort he made war in Scotland against his majesty's enemies for the space of eighteen months, bearing the trophies of six battles, with the defeat of six armies; and no doubt he had continued victorious if the art of trepanning had not been prevalent: however, the slur he received at Philipshaugh was not the cut-throat of his majesty's army, for through his enemy he made way to his friends in the north, though far off, where his presence gave life to drooping spirits. and in a short time made up so considerable forces as could give check to the insulting enemy. But his majesty coming to Newcastle, put a period to that war. Here our hero was as conspicuous for his passive obedience as either he or his noble ancestors were for their most deserving actions. His army he had so endeared to him that they would have followed him upon any account; but, according to the commands received from his majesty, he capitulated nobly for these gentlemen who had accompanied him in the service, which capitulation was most sacredly and inviolably kept by that noble person who treated with him. The marquis, in obedience to his majesty's orders, went to attend the queen's commands at Paris, where he staid for some time, casting about and designing in several nations what was conducible for his majesty's recovery; at length, weary of delays, and impatient of action, he came to be surprized as he was enterprising to come to his ancient friends, whose gallant behaviour in the former war had made both him and them so famous. I shall not speak of his barbarous usage whilst he was prisoner, because they were countrymen, and pretended to be Christians; but as to himself, never martyr for the cause of Christ went with greater cheerfulness to the fire than he did embrace all the indignities put on him, and all without vanity or pageantry as many are used to do on such occasions. His composedness and gravity can scarce be mentioned without hyperboles.

When he was reviled and the lie put upon him, (by him whom Caledonius called the Athenian Hocus,) he returned no other answer than, that he had heard him speak to better purpose at other times. He was frequent in his devotions and heavenly meditations, and having reconciled himself with a true contrition to his gracious God, he advanced to finish his course with a courageous gravity and pious modesty, as his glorious martyred master had done before; which carriage turned the hearts of his enemies who came to insult at the butchery, and generally the barbarity of his usage was condemned by all; and truly it is to be regretted to think how some on the scaffold (especially a little Levite) laboured to discompose his soul by their horrid upbraidings and reproaches, but his unspeakable Christian and mild behaviour shewed how firmly it was fixed in the state of grace. I shall say little more of this great martyr, then what was said of the Reverend Archbishop of Canterbury, martyred on the same account, when a worthy knight was in a contemptible jeering way demanded what his epitaph should be, he answered, that so long as St Paul's church stood, and his book preserved, he could neither want monument nor epitaph; so I say, so long as his history is in being, and the heaps of stones which covered his enemies' carcases in Tippermoor, Aberdeen, Innerlochy, Aldern, Alford, and Kilsyth are lasting, he can neither want the one nor the other, and that is so long as there is a summer to succeed the spring, and the celestial bodies to terminate their usual course.

A word now to the noble cavalier that accompanied him in the same fortunes, and with the same genius, though in a lesser sphere. He is descended of that ancient and noble family of the Earls of Arrol, chief of the name of Hay, Lord High Constable of Scotland heritably. The establishment of this family is most famous in our old records and histories; their honours and estate were conferred by King Kenneth the Third on this occasion. The Danes, at a battle, had put to a disorderly retreat the Scottish army, which one named Hay, with his three sons, being (as the story goes) at the plough, perceiving, stopped them at a narrow pass, and what with threats, and what with persuasive notions, animate them to rally and

to turn face, they going on with the foremost, with such arms as their plough with its accoutrements did furnish them, where they shew such eminence of valour in a most furious charge, that immediately victory attended them, with the total overthrow of the enemy. For which great action the king gave them a faulcon's flight of the choicest land, ennobling them, and giving them for their arms, in a field argent, three bloody shields, a faulcon in crest, and two savages for supporters, the motto *Servo jugum.* This noble rise being eight hundred years ago, may well place them amongst the most honourable families in Europe, and thus for his extraction, being the first cadet of this family. His youthhead he spent in Germany, under the command of his uncle, the renowned Count Lesly, great chamberlain to the emperor; but hearing that his majesty was in war with his rebels, he shook off all expectations of preferment there, and came home with the tender of his service to his majesty, where first, with the great M. Montrose and the valiant Lord Ogilvy, he gave many and singular proofs of his prowess in his majesty's service in England, till the affairs of Scotland drew him thither, in which service, with his general, how eminent he was his sufferings shew; he never dispute the command put on, though carrying never so many difficulties and dangers, which he always judiciously and hardily put in execution. His stature was much of that of the Marquis of Montrose, but more square, of great bones, his limbs equally proportioned, of a very flaxen and bushy hair, his complexion rarely delicate, red and white well mixed, such as a lady would have who would vie for beauty, of disposition affable, a stock of courage and liberality becoming both soldier and gentleman. His constancy at his death shew well he repented nothing he did in order to his allegiance and majesty's service, to the great shame of those who threatened him with their apocryphal excommunications, to which he gave no more place than our Saviour to the Devil's tentations. He was murthered the next day after his general the Lord Marquis. Many other noble gentlemen's murthers in the same nature I will not name at this time; yet I cannot pass that of John Spotswood, grandchild to the Archbi-

shop of St Andrew's, who died in exile, and nephew to the great Sir Robert Spotswood, butchered in the like manner. This same young gentleman, on his knees, ready to lay his head on the block, had these self same following words: "O Lord, who hath been graciously pleased to bring me through the wilderness of his world, I trust at this time you will waft me over this sea of blood to thy heavenly Canaan." To which heavenly ejaculation, a minister standing by replied, "Take tent, take tent, Sir, that you drown not by the gate;" an expression sufficient to have distracted an ordinary soul: but our martyr Christian answered, "He hoped he was no Egyptian," which he delivered with such Christian modesty, that the lout stole away in the crowd, being confounded. His uncle Sir Robert was no otherwise dealt with by another of the brethren, being on the scaffold at St Andrew's for the same just cause: In his speech to the people, while he was recommending to them their duty and obedience to the king, especially so good a king, one interrupted him, and forbade the people to believe him, being the son of a false prophet, meaning that great light in the church his father, the archbishop of the place. Hence may the people learn if they ought to trust the doctrine of their allegiance to such ones who drenches themselves in the blood of the best subjects, whose fame and acts shall serve as examples of future loyalty, gallantry, and piety; and it is hoped that none will be so mad again as to worship meteors, when God almighty hath provided a shining sun, our lawful and dread sovereign, whom God long preserve. Amen, Amen.

Elogium Tumulo Inscribendum.

Immortali, veræ Nobilitatis, inæquandæ Magnanimitatis, incontaminati Honoris, et intemeratæ Fidelitatis, Magni Grami Memoriæ Sacrum.

Si, quis hic jacet? quæris viator; Magnus hic est ille Montisrosarum Marchio, generosi genii suæ familiæ generosus hæres: qui, virescentibus adhuc, licet annosis, majorum suorum palmis, tot victrices contexuit lauros, ut, si omnes illi huic uni, an unus hic illis omnibus plus gloriæ

contulerit, scire sit nefas. Hic est nobilis ille Montis-rosarum Marchio; qui, si prosapiâ, an virtute, illustrior, consilio, an dexterâ, promptior, aulæ, an castris, charior, principibus suis, an exteris, gratior, perduellionis malleus durior, an monarchiæ assertor acrior, famâ, an fortunâ, clarior, in vitâ denique insignior, an in morte constantior, exstiterit, dictû difficile. Hic est, viator, magnus ille dux, ducum sui sæculi facilè princeps; dux, qui, cum peditum manipulo, (ne dicam excercitulo,) pene inermi, victûs et amictûs inopè, causæ æquitati, ducis magnanimitati, et gladiis confiso suis, ingentes hostium acies armatas, duodecim mensium plus minus spatio, septies Vidit, Vicit, Delevit. Majora hæc oculatâ Cæsaris victoriâ. Sed, proh instabilem lubrici fati rotam! Qui arma, castra, oppida, turres, propugnacula, qui frigus, famem, sitim, inaccessa montium juga, immo omnia superare consueverat, tandem maligno fortunæ errore victus, nequissimè hostibus traditus, quid non passus! Protomartyris regis sui martyr pedissequus, plus quam barbaro inimicorum furori, (nisi tam generoso sanguine implacabili,) et effrænæ præstigiatorum Druidum insolentiæ, victima oblatus, invictam malis exspiravit animam. Sic concidit nobile illud diadematis fulcrum! sic occidit resplendens ille Caledoniæ phosphorus! sic occubuit magnus ille Martis alumnus! et cum illo, mascula quæque superfœtantis virtutis suboles, per obstetrices indigenas, ipsis Ægyptiis crudeliores, trucidata! Post undecennium, ossa effodi, membra recolligi, et, per proceres et regni comitia, à cœnobio regio S. Crucis, per metropolin summo cum splendore, ad ædes D. Ægidio sacras comitata, impensis regiis, sub hoc monumento magnifico, cum avo suo nobili, quondam Scotiæ prorege, sepeliri mandavit augustissimus regum Carolus Secundus, imperio suo divinitùs restitutus. Vale viator, et, quisquis es, immensam serenissimi principis ergo suos pietatem, et posthumum hunc Magni Grami, pristinæ suæ gloriæ redivivi, cole triumphum.

J. E.
Miles Philo-Gramus Po.

At the Funerals of the Lord Marquesse of Montrose, 1661.

HERE reinterr'd Montrose lies, though not all,
As if too narrow were one funerall.
So Orpheus corps descerpt by wicked furie,
His friends Apollo and the Muses burie.
That head, his enemies' trophee, and their shame,
Which oft hath been a Gorgon unto them.
The badge of their foul perfidie and pride,
When to their soveraign's view they own'd the dead.
Had scarce been three months mounted when as all
Like Cæsar under Pompey's statue fall:
Brought down by their own aleis, and that sin
Which like the sin of Nebat's son had bin.
Ten years the land's deboach, religion's mock,
Drew on for ten years more a foreign yoke;
Till by the revolution of Heaven's face,
Montrose gets glory, and the land gets grace.
When after ages shall recount his worth,
And read his victories on Die, Tay, Forth,
Atchievements noble of a loyal band
Upon a brainsick faction of the land:
His conduct, his submission to the crown,
T' advance, arm'd or unarm'd, and lay arms down:
His scorne of lucre, care of keeping faith,
His matchless constancy in meeting death.
They'll doubt what epithets, great, generous,
Suit best, or loyal, or magnanimous.
Whether more splendor to his name do bring,
His actings or his suffrings for his king.

W. D.

COME here and read varieties,
A man of contrarieties
Most loyal to his king, although
A traitor to the kingdom; so
His countrymen he still oppresst;
Yet still his prince's wrongs redrest.
He did invade his native land,
Yet wanted ne'er his king's command;

His countrymen he fought, he kill'd,
Yet ne'er but traitors' blood he spill'd.
He scourg'd the land, did tyrannize,
Yet only rebels did chastize.
He caus'd the subjects' liberties,
Advanc'd the king's prerogatives;
Our edicts he did still neglect,
Th' ancient laws he did respect;
An apostate he branded was,
Yet still maintain'd the * good old cause;
He lik'd not well our church's form,
Yet to the Scriptures did conform.
He's excommunicate; and why?
He sinn'd too much in loyalty.
He dies a rebel to the crown,
Yet for the king his life lays down;
He's punish'd as a murtherer,
Yet's hang'd a valiant martyr;
His courage here was sole Romain,
His imitation's Christian.
Our wits consult him how to shame,
And yet our wits procure his fame;
Alive and dead thus he doth prove
The equal but of hate and love.

Expect not here in things complext
That mid-mouth'd distinction 'twixt
True and false; and such like moe,
'Twixt really and deemed so:
To reconcile thy doubts. Attend
Till our posterity shall lend
Their sence upon the matter, so
The mother then shall let thee know
The daughter, polish't fair and clear
From errors. Then perhaps you'l hear
Them say, *His life's his countrey's fame,*
His usage and his death their shame.

Hunc {fur / am} or immanis reg {ni / is} {Jugula / sepeli} vit aperte.

Huic {fur / am} or immanis reg {ui / is} dat {Golgatha furcam / Funera tumbam.}

φιλωραιθ

In vain thou looks that I should show
Whose ashes here doth sleep below :
For if thou would'st acquainted be
With his great parts and vertues high,
Consult with after times, they'l tell
What we delight not to reveal.
Our offspring will the truth discover,
Where we took pains the truth to smother.
Advise with Time's recorder : Come,
He'l give you reasons why we'r dumb ;
My prince but bids me only say,
Montrose his bones we here did lay :
The pious dust forbids me breath
Ought of his usage or his death,
Lest sober infidels should spy
Our church's weakness, and deny
The Gospel for our sakes, and cry,
His death's his country's obloquy.

On the Great Montrose.

Seraphic soul, what heavenly powers combine
To reinter these sacred bones of thine ?
Thy glorious relics by malice bonds detain'd
In silent grave ; will no more be restrain'd
But must appear in triumph, glad to see
The blessed year of Britain's jubilee :
Should there a Phœnix from thy ashes rise,
Would not all nations it idolatrize ?
Thy noble stem and high extraction
Was beautified with such perfection,
As makes thee still to be thy nation's glory,
Europe's great wonder, stately theme of story :
Thy valorous actings far transcend the praise
Of tongues or pens, or these my rural layes ;
Therefore I must so high a subject leave,
And what I cannot speak or write, conceive.

Mr John Chalmers.

A Reflection on the First and Second Funerals of the Great Montrose.

Amazed with these glorious shews, I find
A crowd of fancies struggling in my mind;
Staggering me in a doubt, which will be chief,
A grievous joy, or a rejoicing grief.
While I behold the trophees of thy worth,
With all this joy and splendour now set forth,
And hear thy name, perfumed by the state,
With titles of so loyal and so great.
And see pure honour in so lofty straines,
Hov'ring about thy late disdain'd remaines.
Thy parboil'd parched head, and thy dry bones,
Courted by Mars and Pallas both at once.
Thy conquering palm with loading higher rise,
And in the treasurie of thy growing praise,
Each cast his mite; and here thy en'mies cry,
Hosannah now for their late crucifie.
To see thy friends their honour yet retain,
Rearing thy trophees with triumphant train.
This over treason adds a victory more,
A seventh conquest to the six before.
To see thy torments travelling with thy praise,
And thy herse crowned with thy conquering bayes.
To see thy pains, thy infamie, thy death,
Give life to loyalty, to honour breath.
That after thee these vertues may revive,
And in thy glorious issue ever live.
These do commence our joyes, these expiate
Our former crimes, although they came too late.
And yet our griefs from that same fountain sprung,
He's dead for whom our jovial echoes ring.
He's dead, the shame of all our British story,
He's dead, the grace of all our Scotish glory.
Valour's great Mimon, the true antidot
Of all disgrace that e'er defam'd a Scot.
The flow'r and Phœnix of a loyal stem,
In Charles his crown the most illustrious gem.
And yet this gem is broke, this Phœnix dead,
This glory buried, Mimon murdered.

A sight would made (had he been there to see't)
Argus with all his eyes turn Heraclit.
Would metamorphos'd Mars to Niobe,
And turn'd the world all but to one great eye,
To have delug'd that ghastly rueful place
Where Albion's faith and honour buried was.
A place which ever wise posterity
Shall style hereafter, second Calvarie.
It was no dint of steel, no force of armes,
Nor traitors' plots that did procure his harmes.
To encounter and to conquer, all did see,
Was one to him: At his nativitie,
He had Mars in the ascendant, whose bright flame
Made mighty nations tremble at his name.
Valour with valour, force with force control,
He then, he only could: But's loyal soul
To be a willing victim thought it meet,
While monarchies lay bleeding at his feet
For seeing Charles first run that sad disaster,
In that same cup he pleg'd his royal master.
And now, and not till now, that loyal spirit
Hath got the honour due unto his merit.
But since a schedul will not quite the score,
Fit for great volums; here I'll give it o're.
Too mean a tribute of a slow pac'd verse
Is the affectory to so great a herse.
Or he or Heav'n must make the epitaph
That will be fit for such a noble grave.
He died; and after the solemnity,
Ev'n Heav'n itself did weep his elegy.

Dignum laude virum musa vetat mori.

In patriem, regem legis ceu perfidius hostis
Pro patriâ, rege et legibus occubui,
Legibus antiquis patriæ regiquæ fidelis,
A patriâ rege et legibus intumulor.

Go, passenger, persuade the world to trust,
Thou saw intomb'd the great Montrose his dust!
But tell not that he dy'd, nor how, nor why;
Dissuade them in the truth of this to pry:
Befriend us more, and let them ne'er proclaim
Our nobles' weakness, and our countrie's shame.

The noble ashes here shall only tell
That they were buried, not how they fell;
For faithfull patriots should ne'er proclaim
Such acts as does procure their countrie's shame.

Let it content thee, passenger, that I
Can tell thee here entomb'd my bones doth lye:
Do not enquire if e'er I died, or why?
Speak nought of cruel rage, hate, or envy:
Learn only this,—'Tis malice to reveal
Our countrey's shame, but duty to conceal.

ERRATUM.

Page 320, *for* Wallace's tower, *read* Falkirk.

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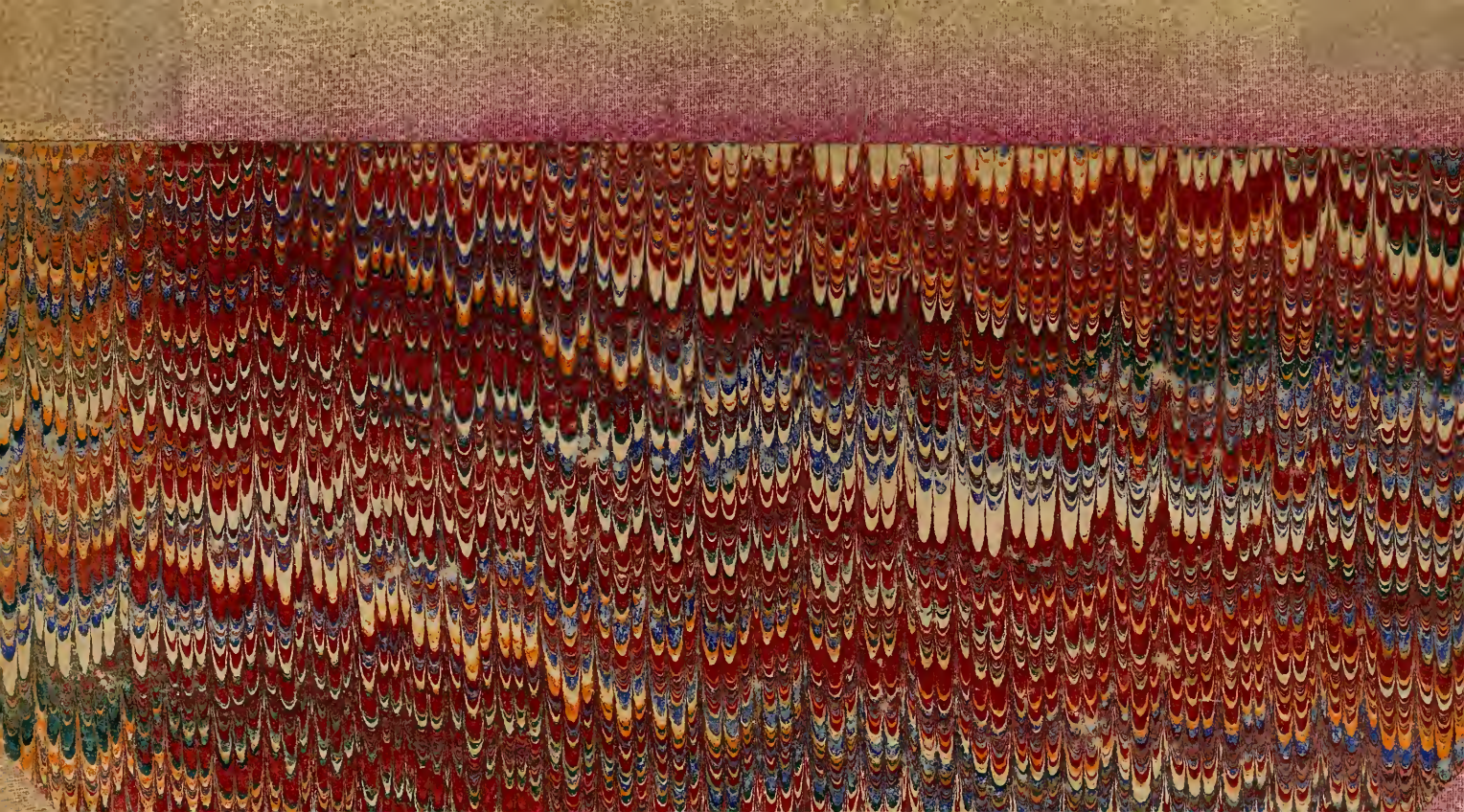
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